

# The Revolution.

THE TRUE REPUBLIC.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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## The Revolution.

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### Poetry.

#### A SIMILE.

THE lips of the waves are kissing  
The cold gray rocks by the shore,  
But the rocks would not know the missing  
Of those lips should they kiss them no more.

They stand in their silent grandeur  
And look on the restless sea,  
That wanders hither and thither,  
And seems almost human to be.

They stand drinking in the sunshine,  
That else might fall on the sea,  
That lies at their feet in the shadow,  
Wasting its wonderful melody.

I think of two lives I know of,  
One like the rocks, one like the sea,  
And I sit by the shore and ponder  
What human relations may be.

One in its silence and sternness,  
Is careless of love and of light;  
The other forever is moaning  
For a heart that is warm and bright.

Things seem to go wrong in this world,  
In the taking and giving away;  
And there is a great mystery in it,  
But we all shall know why some day.

SARAH CLEMMER WELLS.

#### THE LILY OF THE VALLEY.

I THANK my God, I feel that not alone  
On mountain peaks, his blessed sunshine glows  
And dews drop sweetness: even here, far down  
In meads, a lily grows.

I am His work who made the evening star;  
Wherefore I lit to Him my flowerets bright.  
They die to-morrow, but to-day they are  
Beautiful in His sight.

I look upon the hills, and sometimes dream  
How they rejoice in morning's earliest light;  
And how serene, and strong, and still they seem  
To guard the valleys all the gloomy night.

'Tis said the heights are cold—it may be so;  
That winds are keener there, and winters drear.  
I know not how it is; I only know  
My God has placed me here—

Here in this little nook of earth—my own—  
And sent a sunbeam—mine—to cheer my heart;  
He bids me bloom—perhaps for Him alone;  
Is there a better part?

I bloom—stars shine—we bloom and shine for Him.  
We give our best—grand world and humble flower,  
A light through ages never growing dim—  
The fragrance of an hour.

So then He smiles, and takes with equal love,  
Our equal gifts, nor knows nor great nor small;  
But in His infiniteness reigns above.  
And comprehends us all.

[Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1870, by Alice Cary, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, for the Southern District of New York.]

## The Born Thrall.

BY ALICE CARY.

### CHAPTER IV.

#### THE DISTRICT SCHOOL.

APPLES! Oranges! Six for a penny!  
Ain't I a good girl to count so many?  
One, two, three—out goes she!

It was Sally Ripley who went out of the ring, and her wild spirits, which had never been disciplined into any of the ordinary proprieties of life, induced her upon this occasion to remain out altogether. Around stumps she went, over logs she leapt, going out of her way to knock the hat from off the head of little Wesley Smith, who sat sunning himself on the hillside alone. Across the hollow, and up the opposite hill she flew, cutting off, as she went, the red tops of the thistles with a dash of her sunburnt hand. What cared she that the stones bruised her bare feet, and that the wind blew her short frock about her knees and tossed her hair in the wildest disorder! Not the least. She would have been ashamed to have it supposed that she regarded anything except her own audacious will, and there was nothing else that she would have been ashamed of.

Have you ever seen a rough-haired colt, galloping through hedges of thorns, and up and down meadows, whinnying to the inmates of neighboring fields, for no purpose on earth, apparently, but to defy and aggravate the old mare? If you have, let it stand, as in some sort, the representative of Sally Ripley as she appeared at the District School.

However, she had her own special attractions—an asserting and showy order of beauty—a coarse wit—a ready apprehension of what came to the surface—an exuberant and self-originated cheerfulness, and a healthful and life-giving magnetism. And to these attractions may be superadded a certain rude stylishness, such as delights itself in fiery colors and abrupt contrasts, brass combs, glass beads, pinchbeck ear and finger-rings, and all the other appurtenances of barbaric finery.

Having gained the hill-top, Sally sailed into port, dropped anchor, and swung round, immediately facing a demure looking little girl, who was seated on the grass in the thick shade of a clump of maple trees, her lap full of the long, shining leaves of the pawpaw, which she was joining together with pins made of the stems of penaroyal.

"What are you doing here by yourself,

Mope?" Sally said—skimming up with her hand some of the leaves from the lap of the little girl, and scattering them to the winds. "Come and play Drowned Duck, and I will be catcher!"

"I don't care about playing, to-day," answered the child quietly. "Ask Charley, he will join you in anything, I warrant you."

"Charley!—he's too little—b'sides, I hate boys and me, you know I do. I wish there wasn't one nor 'tother in the world. I don't like m'oun brothers, much less m' father!"

"Why, Sally Ripley!"

"O dear, Miss Goodness! you p'tend to be shocked, do you? Well, I don't care! I've kep' back truth long 'nough, an' I'm goin' t' speak it, if 'tis 'bout m' father! And you wouldn't like yours more'n I do mine, if he was as cross t' your mother 's all p'sess!—'n as for us children—me 'n the boys, we'd lose use of our tongues, f'r all he gives us chance t' exercise 'em. Gracious me! if I was to get such a husband, I'd smother 'im some night under the pillars!"

The little girl looked up, her eyes full of surprise and troubled wonder. Sally's father was own uncle to her mother, and to hear him spoken of thus, and more especially by Sally, was an amazement to her. She had always feared, and as far as might be, avoided him, when she visited her cousins, but she had hardly known why.

Noticing the unhappy effect her words had produced, Sally went on—"Wish hadn't told you word 'bout th' ole man, but mercy knows, tain't nothin' t' what I might tell." She went close and spoke in the ear of her listener—"I could tell you some-th'n', Tressy Gresham, 't would fairly make your hair stand on end! Want t' hear it?"

"No!"—replied the child, almost shuddering.

There was some mystery connected with her uncle Israel Ripley's house, which she had never understood, and which she had never felt herself privileged to inquire into. More than once she had seen her aunt Lydia Ripley in tears, when confidentially conversing with her mother; more than once she had heard hints of some family trouble, which reflected dishonorably upon her uncle, but if her curiosity found the slightest expression, she was told that little folks musn't have big ears, and so sent out of the way.

It would be difficult indeed to make the modern reader understand the barriers that used to be built up between parents and children, for they are all breached and tumbled into ruins now.

Theresa, or Tressy, as she was called, and as we may as well call her, knew just enough to make her uneasy in her uncle's house; if a closet door opened suddenly, she felt that a big bear might jump out and devour her at a mouthful, perhaps, or that she might see a skeleton of some murdered man, or other dreadful sight, such as only ignorant imaginations can paint.

No wonder, therefore, she had replied to Sally's question in the negative.

"Don't be 'fraid!"—that young lady went on, endeavoring to retrieve her mistake—"th' ole man won't hurt you, though he's tickled me with a cowhide many a time since I was big 's am now! But after all, 'tain't what he says, nor what he does, t' I hate so much—its the way he looks when he's 't'ome! Dear sakes! you'd think he was a thunder-cloud, instead of a man!"

Unfortunately, Sally's description of her father's bearing, at home, smacked too much of the truth.

Mr. Ripley was—let us hope that he was singular in this respect—one man in his relations with the public, and in his domestic relations quite another and less admirable man.

Seeing that she had failed to divert the thoughts of her cousin, Sally caught up the leafy garment she was piecing together, and asked, "What you makin' theatre things?"

"Yes, how did you happen to guess?" Theresa answered—and she went on to explain to her cousin, how that her sister Dorcas had been to the theatre lately, when she was in town, and about the play she had seen, which was "Romeo and Juliet." "We have been reading it since," she said, "and acting it, too, for that matter." She went on to extol the histrionic ability of her sister Dorcas; "she didn't believe," she said, "that anybody could perform much better"—she explained about the balcony scene, in which she thought Dorcas especially shone. "I am making this mantle for her," she said, holding up her leafy patchwork, and we'll play the play when I get it done."

"Lovely, ain't it?"—cried Sally—"but wait 'till you come to our house, and then you can have Moses and Isr'l for actors, too!"

"She then went on to explain, in a most enthusiastic manner, how the hen-roost, which was situated over the pig-pen, might be brought into requisition with great effect. Dorcas standing in the door of the hen-roost as Juliet, Tressy below, among the cucumber vines, as Romeo, and herself, seated on the chicken-coop, for congregation.

Thus, like Tennyson's "Lily Maid in the Tower," she became enchanted of her own thoughts, and "lived in phantasy."

She awoke, however, to the realities of the moment directly, and seizing the hand of her quiet little friend, cried—"Come 'long! don't less be losin' time now! Come! cause if 'ou don't, I'll eat up all your school-dinner t'-morrer, sure's I live and breathe the breath of life. What do you want to be alone for, any how?"

And in this inquiry, Sally but expressed what would have been the marvel of many wiser persons than she; so few of us take time to get acquainted with ourselves, we feel solitude to be an intolerable burden.

"What makes me like to be alone!"—repeated the young girl—her soft dark eyes, full of bewilderment and wonder. "I don't know—I don't feel alone, not the way you do."

"Lawdy! you don't p'tend you have spir'its for company, do you?"—and Sally drew up her eyebrows, till her forehead was ridged with wrinkles.

"May be I have—I don't know," answered the child, solemnly.

"Gabrel have mercy!"—cried Sally—"you're losin' the little wit you was born with!"

"May be so," said Tressy, quietly as before.

"Maybe so? no ma by 'bout it! You think too much—that's what ails you! an' you'll never come to nothin' 'f'ou don't stop! there ain't no use for women-folks to think, no how—not 'less its 'bout gettin' married!"

"I dare say you are right"—Tressy said.

Sally was indignant that she could not invest her cousin with the brisk atmosphere of her own nature, her face flushed, and pushing the masses of her black, tangled hair aside, she exclaimed:—"You're the biggest dunce, Tressy Gresham, t'at I ever see in all my born days! not but what you'r just as smart 's I am! Smarter, too, 'bout books and them things—but your book stuff 's no use to girls, an' if 't was, 'twouldn't do you no good—you don't put yourself for'ard 'nough! and them that stay back, are left back; roosters don't scratch for settin' hens 's far 's I've observed! Talent 's well 'nough I s'pose, but tack 's worth two of it, and, Tressy, I mus' say, you've got no more tack 'n a goose! Now, f'r instance, I spread out my skirts 'n things, just 's wide 's I can, and you don't make no spread 'tall, and what's the upshot? Why, I have more room 'n I want, and you'r scrouged! Then look at Vi'let Varney—her head's as holler 's a gourd, and see how she gets made of! and all because she blows her own trumpet. You ought, b'rights to go a mild before her (big red-cheeked story-teller), but 'stead o' that, you'r a mild behind!"

"She is certainly pretty," Tressy said.

"Purty! yes, purty 'nough, I s'pose! and then she's set off with ruffles 'n furblovs 'n things, and them go further than good sense, 'most any where. F'r instance, would any body stop to look at the pict'r of George Washington, if he was dressed in my brother Isr'l's ole close? No! they'd see 's close, and they wouldn't see 't was George Washington, 'tall! O Tressy! I do wish I could get a little spir't into you! ' Close and imp'dence—they's what carry the day—say what you will 'bout the long run!"

"I dare say you are right."

"Dare say I'm right; you know I'm right! Imp'dence, p'tence, and close! I've only got one of 'em, and I keep ahead o' you with that. The master knows well 'nough t' I don't understand the things I say by heart, and he knows you understand the things you can't say, but don't he put me 'bove you in the classes? O I tell you them's great qual'ties—imp'dence and p'tence! I was born to disadvantage—I only had one of 'em, and 'tother I somehow could'n't acquire." Then she got back to Violet Varney again, and expatiated with an earnestness rasped hot by envy, on the new chang'ble silk, and green c'lash she had got to wear the coming Fourth of July. "And just 's like 's not," she concluded, "you'll never get a glimpse o' the Liberty Pole!" "If I shouldn't"—Tressy said, "and I don't expect to, for I have never seen a Fourth of July celebration—you must tell me all about it."

"Of course I'll tell you, but how are you ever to learn how to b'have in s'ciety 'f'ou don't go into it? You must go 'n order to learn—that's all there is 'bout it."

The fellers, f'r instance—the knack o' managin' them 'mounts fairly to genius! Now I know you'r awful ign'rant on this subject, and if a fellow was t' ask you to keep company, you wouldn't know how to b'have, so as to catch him, and at same time 'pear indif'rnt!"

"No, most certainly,"—Tressy answered, laughing.

"What pity! Its 'n art every girl o' your

age ought t' understand. How old are you any how?"

"Not quite fifteen."

"And never kept company!"

"No, not as you mean."

"Well, I have this two year, and I aint many muns older 'n you. But come, let's go and have a romp b'fore school takes in."

"No, Sally, I'd rather sit still."

"Well, then, sit still, 'till the grass grows up 'n smothers you!" But Sally's anger was generally transient, as it was violent, and she added almost immediately—"I b'lieve 'tain't no use for some folks to try t' understand others, and there's 'nothin' in me t' understands you! so go your way, and I'll go mine." And herein Sally expressed much wisdom.

At this juncture, the attention of the two girls was arrested by a man who came riding down the road so fast, as to leave behind him a thick cloud of dust. Sally screened the sun from her eyes with one hand, and having gazed a moment, cried eagerly—"O Tressy! I do b'lieve its your father! Mean t' run t' th' road 's quick 's I can, an' ask him where he's goin'!" And away she dashed, but midway of the whole distance, she suddenly stopped, and dropping to the ground; took one foot in her lap. She wore no shoes, and had trodden on some thorns that lay concealed in the grass.

Mr. Gresham, for it was he, meanwhile approached, and riding close to the fence that divided the road from the field where Theresa was, called her to come to him.

One moment her hands fell in her lap and her eyes stared with wonder, but the next, she was beside him, her suppressed emotion making red ripples in her cheeks, and setting her shoulders quivering and dimpling like waves in which the rain is beginning to patter. Her nature less demonstrative, was far more intense than that of her young companion.

There was a little awkward confusion on the part of Mr. Gresham as he said—"You are not to come home to-night, Tressy; your mother says, you and Charley and Dorcas, may go home with Sally Ripley to-night; mind that you are good children, and tell Aunt Liddy, that mother wants her to come over to our house this evening."

The eyes of Theresa fell, the blood sunk out of her cheeks into her heart. "Yes, sir," she said, and turned silently away. Under other circumstances, it would have been agreeable enough to go home with Sally and spend the night.

A visit was a visit, even with "Uncle Isr'l" and the haunted chambers before her eyes. Aunt Liddy, moreover, by her sweet and tender ways with the children, neutralized in some degree the effect of her husband's austerity, and when, by good fortune, he was not at home, the little irregularities in which she permitted them to indulge were beyond measure delightful. Sometimes she would allow them to saddle the vinegar barrel and ride to Jackson City, or to Cincinnati, where they spent fabulous sums of money, in imagination, greatly more to their satisfaction than money is likely to be spent, after the child is once done riding a vinegar-barrel.

True, there was always an unfortunate liability hanging over these daring performances. "Uncle Isr'l" was one of those men, whose absence from home for any given time is always disagreeably uncertain. Often in the midst of a harmless revel, he would appear among the children, causing a general flutter and consternation, not unlike the sudden alighting of a hawk in a

chicken yard. Under these circumstances, Aunt Liddy would spread out her trembling wings, and protect her frightened brood as best she might; but she generally thought discretion the better part of valor, and huddled them out of sight with a very considerable degree of celerity. Blessed be her name and memory, and let all the children say Amen.

Theresa could not return to the childish work she had left—new and bewildering sensations had taken possession of her; she could hardly keep the tears from her eyes, and sitting down on the ground, she reached her hands along the grass, and took hold of its dewy leaves, unconsciously asking help and sympathy.

"O Tressy! where's your father goin'? an' what did he say?" cried Sally, breathlessly limping up, and pushing the thorn deeper at every step.

"We are to go home with you, after school, and stay all night—that is all."

Sally clapped her hands, dancing for joy, in spite of the wounded foot, which left red marks in the grass.

Rap! rap! rap! sounded the master's ruler on the window sill. "School's took in! school's took in!" shouted the boys to one another, as they gathered up marbles and ball, and hastily seized coats and jackets, from stump and bush.

"Come ahead! you two stray sheep across the hill, there! come ahead, or you'll catch it!" cried one of the big boys, beckoning with his hat to Sally and Theresa.

"Come ahead! I'd like t' know how I'm t' come ahead?" retorted Sally. "I've got a thorn 'bout mild long in one o' m' feet!"

"Let me help you," said Theresa, trying, at the same time, to assist Sally all she could, "but why didn't you tell me you was hurt?"

"Cause I wasn't mind to, an' cause 't didn't hurt s' awful bad till school took in—'t any rate, 't didn't feel it—things makes a difference t' things, don't they?" And declining any help from Theresa, Sally sunk helplessly to the ground, and sought to bandage the disabled foot with her pocket handkerchief.

If the thorn is still there," Theresa said, "bandage will do no good."

"Twill do 'good, too? 'T'll keep Vilet Varn from seein' it, for one thing, an' I shan't show it her, 'thout she eats humble pie, first, I can tell you!"

Truth is, Sally had two or three ends to serve in thus exaggerating her late misfortune; the schoolmaster, he argued, would in consequence of it, be more silent to imperfect recitations, and Sally, as has been intimated, was not of a studious disposition. In the next place, she recognized in it a distinguishing and honorable element; she would, for once, she felt, be observed of all observers; the object of peculiar deference and attention.

Her ambition grew by what it fed on, and finding the eyes of half the school fixed upon her, she resolved to push her destiny at once into fame—she could not walk a step, she asserted, without a crutch! One of the school-boys who had a jack-knife, must immediately cut one from some bush or tree; only by means of such aid could she ever reach the schoolhouse. Wesley Smith, who was always glad of an opportunity of serving anybody, was detailed for this service by the large boys, who were themselves afraid to remain out of school. He was forced to borrow a jack-knife, but soon discovered a forked limb in a clump of bushes, and a moment thereafter, brought it in triumph, and Sally, with a proud sense of her considera-

tion, placed it beneath her arm, and with all the eclat she had anticipated, swung herself into the school, the which, immediately suffered the nature of an insurrection. In the bosoms of all that rustic crew, ambition was stirred, and emulation aroused; that there would be no profitable study that afternoon, the many flushed faces and brilliant eyes attested. At first the rumor ran that Sally had sprained her ankle awful bad—then that the hip-bone was out of joint, and finally that half the bones in one side of her body were in a fearfully mutilated state. A few of the more imaginative could hear the creaking of the displaced joints, and that her face was just as white as a sheet, everybody could see.

If the master had been wise, he would have yielded to the force of circumstances—waved the sway of custom, suffered the natural ebullition to subside, and things quietly to fall to their ordinary level.

Such, however, was not his procedure. A sharp rap on his desk, and a black knot of frowns between his eyebrows were the premonitions of what would inevitably follow, if order were not speedily restored.

There was a momentary lull—an elevation of books, half of them wrong side up, but the next moment, the spirit of rebellion reasserted itself, and confusion became worse confounded.

Billy Bland was forced by an impulse, entirely beyond his control, to impart to his neighbor a singular misfortune that had befallen himself, and to re-enact the tragedy by shaking one leg with great violence—as if, indeed, he were endeavoring to rid himself of it altogether—a movement by no means graceful, but peculiarly significant.

"Nineteen yaller-jackets, rail busters, every one of 'em, had," he said, "got up one of his trowser-legs, and stung him like all gerwhillies!"

Daniel W. Dayton was constrained to communicate to William Mandeville Vanwort many circumstances of a strictly personal and private nature, none of which I feel authorized to repeat here.

William Mandeville had, himself, been the recipient of several distinguishing accidents—amongst the rest, he had been catawampously chawed up by a garter-snake!

"If," said young Mandeville, his nostril distending with the bare imagination—"if it had been a rattle-snake, instead of a garter-snake, and if it had had rattles, onto it's tail, it would have sent me a-kitten!"

Jackson Brown must tell every boy within earshot, that his father had once owned a cow, that had seven horns, and four eyes into her—two eyes in her nose, and two in her four-head! Furthermore, that her milk was pizen; and that her tail had been preserved after death, and made available in the way of cerwholopping the young ones—he himself having been many times cerwholopped till his hide was nigh about as striped as a zebra! If he could have shown any marks of such flagellation, it would have insured celebrity, but alas, if such had ever existed, they had long since faded out, and talk as he might of the striped hide of the zebra, he could show only the skin of a boy.

The fear of the master, now and then subdued the reckless element which makes boys boys, but after each temporary lull it broke out with renewed violence—like a fire that had been smothered for a moment, by some inflammable substance.

In the girls' side of the house, usually so

meek and loyal, evinced insurrectionary symptoms, but the conversation there had in it less of the monstrous and terrible, turning chiefly, in fact, to side-combs, prunella slippers, fortune-telling, and marriage!

Violet Varney electrified a little party, that had put their heads together in special confidence, by suggesting the possibility of something short of supreme felicity in the connubial haven.

"Why does the preacher always say, for better, for worse?" she asked, "if there isn't any worse? I tell you, there is!"

This wild and guilty fantasy caused her to be looked upon with a good deal of distrust, and forced her to bring to bear in defence, her own recollections of the worse; "she had seen with her own eyes," she said, "her own father beat her own mother, with her mother's own mush-stick, fifty times, if she had seen it once."

It was so common an event, indeed, that her mother was in the habit of regularly washing the stick after supper and placing it conveniently at hand!

Sally Ripley intimated that she could, and if she would, that she had seen what she had seen, and knew what she knew! but she wisely forbore to speak more plainly.

These dark hints, however, suggested only to those young hearts the barest possibilities; it will all be clear sailing to me, thought each, as she looked toward the future; not a single cloud showed itself; there had been women struck by lightning to be sure, but what of that! It was certainly a thing not likely to happen. Who was afraid!

(To be continued.)

MISS COUZENS IN ARKANSAS.—Miss Phoebe Couzens is moving boldly and beautifully on the South as witness the following from the Little Rock Daily Republican:

The lecture last night was a success. A large and intelligent audience were out to hear this lady's arguments in favor of Woman Suffrage. Hon. R. T. J. White, Judge E. H. English, Gen. C. H. Smith and Hon. O. A. Hadley took seats upon the platform. She was introduced to her audience by Hon. R. T. J. White, and commenced her elucidation of the subject without the usual formality of speakers in general, asking for indulgence in not being able to present her subject with that force she otherwise could, were she free from the effects of a bad cold or a sore throat. Still there was a bewitching modesty shown that called forth the silent admiration of her hearers, and for several minutes after her voice fell upon the ear, a pin dropped upon the floor could have been heard in any part of the hall; and only at the close of a well rounded period did her audience realize that a woman was speaking.

She handled her subject with a master-hand, and her arguments, if not convincing, were full of meaning and calculated to impress the hearts of her hearers with their power, as well as the ear with their smoothness and culture.

At this hour of the night (11 o'clock) it would be impossible to give even a synopsis of her remarks. It is unnecessary to do so, although we will admit that such was our intention, but her address was too interesting to allow us to take notes for our readers to peruse. It was an eloquent lecture, full of brilliant and sparkling thoughts. We do not say this to flatter or please, but to give "credit where credit is due." We were well pleased with her effort, and from the close attention paid by all in the hall, judge that all were delighted, and returned home gratified and satisfied with the evening's entertainment.

She is a pleasing and interesting speaker, attractive in person and manner, with round, full voice and excellent articulation. Rather timid at first, but understanding the cause she was advocating, gained courage and the applause of true and genuine friends. We offer her our congratulations. May God give her strength to continue on in well doing.

## THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

A CONVENTION of the National Woman Suffrage Association was held at Lincoln Hall in Washington, on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of last week. At 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning Mrs. Stanton called the assemblage to order, and the proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Samuel J. May of Syracuse. Letters were read from John Stuart Mill, Robert Purvis, Clara Barton, and others. Miss Barton appealed to her soldier friends in behalf of woman's right of suffrage thus:

Brothers, when you were weak, and I was strong, I toiled for you. Now you are strong, and I am weak, because of my work for you, I ask your aid. I ask the ballot for myself and my sex, and as I stood by you, I pray you stand by me and mine.

Mr. Purvis closed his eloquent letter with these sentiments, worthy alike his transcendent intellect and earnest devoted heart:

Censured as I may be for apparent inconsistency, as a member and an officer of the 'A. A. S.' Society, in approving a movement whose leaders are opposed to the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, I must be true to my own soul, to my sense of the absolute demands of justice, and hence, I say that, much as I desire (and Heaven knows how deeply through life I have antagonized therefore) the possession of all my rights as an American citizen, were I a woman, black or white, I would resist, by every feeling of self-respect and personal dignity, any and every encroachment of power, every act of tyranny, (for such they will be,) based upon the impious, false, and infamous assumption of superiority of sex."

Mr. Sinclair Toucy, of New York, also wrote a letter in which he said:

The argument of to-day against the legal and political equality of the sexes carries one back to the days of pro-slavery ascendancy, and brings vividly to mind the old wall of the non-humanity of the negro, and his lack of capacity for civilizing improvements; and though the opponents of equal rights for both sexes do not go quite so far as to deny the humanity of women, yet one might believe they would, did not such denial involve their own status. \* \* \* In a feeble manner I fought the old pro-slavery dogma, and in a feeble manner I am trying to fight its twin—the non-equality of the sexes. \* \* \* I believe in the brotherhood of man, regardless of sex, color, or birth-place, and that every member of the great family is entitled to equal rights in life's ceaseless struggles.

Mr. Mill's letter was as follows:

AVIGNON, France, Dec. 11, 1869.

DEAR MADAM: I should have reason to be ashamed of myself if your name were unknown to me. I am not likely to forget one who stood in the front rank of the Woman Rights movement in its small beginnings, and helped it forward so vigorously in its early and most difficult stages. You and Mrs. Mott have well deserved to live to see the cause in its present prosperity, and may now fairly hope to see a commencement of victory in some of the states at least. I have received many kind and cordial invitations to visit the United States, and were I able, the great Convention to which you invite me would certainly be a strong inducement to do so. My dislike to a sea voyage would not of itself prevent me, if there were not a greater obstacle—want of time. I have many things to do yet, before I die, and some months (it is not worth while going to America for less) is a great deal to give at my time of life, especially as it would not, like ordinary travelling, be a time of mental rest, but something very different. I regret my inability the less, as the friends of the cause in America are quite able to dispense with direct personal co-operation from England. The really important co-operation is the encouragement we give one another by the success of each in their own country. For Great Britain this success is much greater than appears on the surface, for our people, as you know, shrink much more timidly than Americans from attracting public notice to themselves; and the era of great public meetings on this subject has not arrived in our country, though it may be near at hand. I need hardly say how much I am gratified at the mode in which my name was mentioned in the National Convention at Newport, and still more at the tribute to the memory of my dear wife, who from early youth was devoted to this cause, and had done invaluable service to it as the inspirer and instructor of others, even before writing the essay

deservedly eulogised in your resolutions. To her I owe the far greater part of whatever I have myself been able to do for the cause, for though from my boyhood I was a convinced adherent of it, on the ground of justice, it was she who taught me to understand the less obvious bearings of the subject, and its close connection with all the great moral and social interests of the cause. I am, dear Madam, very sincerely yours,  
J. S. MILL.

To Mrs. Paulina W. Davis.

Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, was introduced and made some very appropriate remarks:

He said he was no new convert to this idea of woman's right of suffrage. He could not remember when he wasn't a convert. He never had to be converted. Woman claims the right to vote, not because she is a woman, and stronger or weaker than man, but because she is a citizen, amenable to the laws and under the control of the government. He did not propose to vote to simply give woman the franchise, but to remove the obstacles that now forbid the exercise of that right. There is nothing proscriptive in that movement. He didn't care to what organization they belonged, so long as they did belong. He was willing that adherents should come from the East or the West. In this field of labor there is room for every organization. He welcomed to this organization every earnest worker, and he was glad to hear that they were stirring up the elements. He had been waiting for the last two months for petitions, but he thought the franchise would never be secured to any class until it was imbedded in the constitution, and put beyond the majorities in State Legislatures and the freaks of politicians. He was in favor of carrying the movement into the fundamental law of the land. A woman is in her individual capacity when she goes before the Court, to prison, or to the gallows. Her husband cannot represent her there. The negro's hour is passed, and it is woman's hour now. The negro has had his day, his cause has triumphed, and as woman is a citizen, and we need her ballot in the government, I hope that this movement may have a triumphant success.

The following Standing Committees were then announced:

On Resolutions—Miss Susan B. Anthony, Dr. J. P. Root, Miss Phoebe Couzens, Rev. Mr. May, Mrs. M. E. J. Gage, Mrs. Colby, Mrs. Ela.

On Finance—Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, Miss S. B. Anthony, Mrs. B. Lockwood, Mrs. M. Wright and Mr. Willcox.

On Credentials—Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Mr. Stillman, Mrs. A. D. Cridge.

A resolution sympathizing with Mrs. Frances D. Gage, in her long and severe illness, was adopted unanimously.

Mrs. Stanton, said the reporters asked her for the answer to Clara Barton. She said that she asked no answer for her devotion to the men of the country during the war, but that the right of franchise be extended to all the women of the country. She felt the insult of the Fifteenth Amendment; and must now have a Sixteenth Amendment. Send back to Clara Barton the answer that she was about to be invested with the rights of American citizenship. This would be the best answer to her. They tell us to wait till the negro has citizenship given him. Was this not humiliating to us? Were the claims of the negro of more force than those of the mothers and daughters of this country. She felt that nothing could save this nation but the force of the moral power that women would bring into the political arena. Freedom in the church and state was the great ultimatum to be attained.

Mrs. Wright of Auburn, N. Y., stated that her sister had been charged with a message from Lucretia Mott, to the Convention, that she sent her "God speed" to the movement, and regretted that sickness prevented her being present.

A gentleman in the audience desired to advise the Convention to adopt resolutions, allowing unmarried women to have the exclusive control of their property.

Mrs. E. C. Stanton, however, thought this was paying a bounty on celibacy, and the con-

vention adjourned till 2 o'clock p.m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.—The meeting was called to order at 2 o'clock, by Mrs. Martha C. Wright of New York. Among the many distinguished persons present were Senator Pomeroy of Kansas, the president of the Universal Suffrage Association of the District of Columbia, and the ladies of his household; Mrs. E. C. Stanton of New York, Miss Susan B. Anthony of New York, Miss Phoebe Couzens of St. Louis, Mo., Mrs. Paulina W. Davis of Providence, Mrs. Martha Wright of Auburn, Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour of New York, Hon. J. W. Etlingmayer, ex-Governor Root of Kansas, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Mrs. M. E. J. Gage of Fayetteville and a host of others.

Mrs. Griffing, from the Committee on Credentials, received the credentials of the delegates present.

Mrs. Paulina W. Davis then read a very interesting history of the Woman's Rights movement, compiled by herself, giving a biography of all the leaders of the movement.

The Chair then introduced Miss Susan B. Anthony, stating that she was one of the hardest workers for the cause.

Miss Anthony objected to the manner of introduction, remarking that she would prefer to have her obituaries spoken after her demise. She wanted business now, and therefore introduced the following resolutions; which were laid on the table for debate.

Resolved, That the National Woman's Suffrage Convention respectfully ask the Forty-First Congress of the United States—

First. To submit to the Legislatures of the several states a Sixteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, prohibiting the disfranchisement of any of their citizens on account of sex.

Second. To strike out the word "male," from the laws governing the District of Columbia.

Third. To enfranchise the women of Utah as the one safe, sure and swift means to abolish the polygamy of that Territory.

Fourth. To amend the laws of the United States so that women shall receive the same pay as men for services rendered the government.

Miss Anthony then expressed her views as to the Constitution of the United States and of the several States. She considered the Fifteenth Amendment a fixed fact. But a Sixteenth was needed. The question arose why she did not bring her Sixteenth Amendment to the different legislatures of the States. She remarked that she came to Washington and to Congress because Congress had been the first to throw obstacles in the way of women by inserting the word "male" in the Constitution. Congress should make amends for this offence. The reason why the Fifteenth Amendment was not submitted to the people direct, but to the State legislatures, was because there was more intelligence in those bodies than in certain Congressional districts, especially the 6th and 7th New York City. She was tired of this continual talk about Female Suffrage. She had been speech-making now twenty years, and was tired of it. She wanted action now, and would not be satisfied until Congress had acted in their behalf. (Applause.)

The Chair stood, at the conclusion of her remarks, that the reason why so few petitions asking for the franchise were presented to Congress was because the women would not beg for what they considered to be their rights. Several ladies had resolved not to pay taxes, but rather to go to prison if their votes would not be taken.

Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Secretary of the Suffrage Association of New York, next ad-

dressed the audience. She thought the world had never yet seen what woman could do, because she had never been given the opportunity. The ballot is the symbol of a higher power than a king's crown; it was the promise of justice to him who held it. John Bright said no oppression, however hoary-headed, could stand the voice of the people. Woman's Suffrage could improve many existing defects in our social and political condition, and the ballot was the aspiration of woman.

Mrs. Paulina W. Davis next read the constitution of the National Woman's Suffrage Association, recommending all ladies to step forward and subscribe to it.

Mrs. Edson, of South Washington, desired to have the Committee on Resolutions urge upon Congress the passage of the bill now before it, providing for the reorganization of the Treasury Department, but opposing that section of the bill which fixes the salary of the female employees lower than those of the men. She thought this was a proper subject for the convention to discuss.

Miss Anthony, of New York, stated that a resolution on this point had been prepared, and would be offered in the course of the conventional proceedings. She would recommend that all attention be given to national legislation, as that covered local legislation. There might be some delegates who desired special resolutions on divers subjects, but the greater contained the less. Miss Anthony then spoke severely against the present school system in the District. She thought colored children had not the advantages they ought to have. She announced the speakers for the evening session, among whom was Hon. A. G. Riddle of this city, and hoped that he would riddle all the cobwebs of the opposition.

The convention then adjourned till 7:30 p.m.

EVENING SESSION.—The meeting was opened at eight o'clock, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing in the chair.

Hon. James M. Scovel, of New Jersey, was then introduced and addressed the convention as follows:

I believe in heroism. Grant won with the sword at Appomattox what Charles Sumner contended for half a century—an idea. That idea is the liberty of all, limited by the like liberty of each. (Applause.)

To night we are here to bow to conscience, not to caste. Susan B. Anthony, the heroine of the hour, sustained by such brave souls as crowd this platform, who for the last twenty years have worked without fear and without reproach, deserves the thanks of millions yet to be, for they are the heroes, the champions of the same idea for which Abraham Lincoln and half a million soldiers died. (Applause.)

The emancipation of man was the proposition. The enfranchisement of woman was not the corollary to that proposition, but the major part of that proposition itself.

John Stuart Mill, in his great book, "The Subjection of Women," denies the superior mental capacity of man when compared with woman; and he can safely deny since it appears that no man has ever affirmed and proved the mental superiority of man.

The nineteenth century don't yield a blind assent to such bosh as Tennyson's, "Woman is the lesser man." It would not do for Madam de Stael, to assert (for alas! it was too true then—for the first Napoleon never read Rochefort's *Marsellaise*) that man could conquer, but woman must submit to public opinion.

To-day Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Anna E. Dickinson take public opinion by storm, because they use the everlasting logic of human rights. (Applause.)

Those who come to scoff and go away to pray, used to say that the subjection of the weaker sex to the stronger has obtained for six thousand years. Suppose it has—no other system has ever been tried. The dependence of woman is not an original institution—taking a fresh start from considerations of justice and social expediency. It is the primitive state of slavery (applause) lasting on through successive mitigations and modifications occasioned by the same causes which have softened the general manners and brought all human relations more under the control of justice and the influence of humanity. (Loud applause.)

Woman has power enough whenever fidelity, or truth, or genius, or virtue are worshipped. She wants authority. The will of the nation says, "She shall have it and that right speedily." We want and demand that Congress shall make a loud "amen" to this clearly expressed will of the nation.

For woman I demand not sweet, soft words—not ceremony—but justice. For

Ceremony hath made many fools;  
It is an easy way unto a Duchess.

The civil rights bill did little good till you armed the African with a ballot. (Applause.) Then the old master touched his hat to the new citizen—his old slave. And why?

Because he was a power in the land. It is only Godlike to use power for humanity; and that is how we propose to use it. (Applause.) Congress must hear us—shall hear us—because we speak in the voice of the people for the people. (Loud applause.)

And I speak to you as a man, as a gentleman; yes, and as a lawyer, when I tell you your boasted amendments are as the small dust of the balance till the sixteenth amendment is written—graven—in the text of your Constitution—the guarantee for posterity, the liberty of all, limited only by the like liberty of each. Then we will have a country, never again clasping the Bible with the handcuffs of slavery, but a land where we, men and women alike, can worship a common God, before whom there is neither Jew or Greek, "white male" or female, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Scovel's remarks, Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour was introduced to the audience, to deliver an address on the proposed sixteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution?

Mrs. Wilbour remarked that she was fully aware of the truth that humanity was a unit. She knew the day was coming when a woman would be considered the equal of man. No disabilities to vote or hold office should exist in a free country on account of sex or color. She was anxious to know by what authority the word *male* had been placed in the constitution, which governed woman as well as man. Woman's rights were natural rights—nothing more or less. She claimed the right of self-rule and self-government as a natural right. Men were united in saying, "We have the right to vote." She was not present to be an advocate of woman's rights, whatever they may be, but of human rights. The largest giant had no more rights than Tom Thumb. It was brain, not force, that governed the world. A small hand was able to discharge a musket, guide an engine, or edit a paper as well as a large one. The womanly in nature should be expressed by woman,

the manly by man; the two were distinct, and could not be blended together without spoiling the harmony of the whole. Society had to be governed by the sacred right of self-government. How could a woman be responsible for her deeds to God if somebody had control over her conscience?

The question arose whether woman was needed to participate in the administration of affairs. She answered, yes; the nation's salvation demanded woman's action. It was said politics were too corrupt for women to meddle with. Other duties were hers. She should give her attention especially to politics. Charity was one of the woman's duties, and the women of America were all sisters of charity. True, but something was needed. Women should meddle with politics, should vote. The sixteenth amendment was needed so that the wife of the inebriate could vote against the traffic which was a ruin to her husband. Women would advocate temperance, and work for it. The political status of parties would not be changed, in her opinion, by giving the ballot to women by adopting the sixteenth amendment. Although she was unable to tell how soon or how late it would be before woman attained the desired object, the ballot, how long the war between the sexes would last, the women would certainly fight it out. (Applause.)

At the conclusion of Mrs. Wilbour's remarks, Mrs. Stanton stated that she had the pleasure of introducing to the convention an excellent and honest lawyer, Mr. Albert G. Riddle. (Applause.)

Mr. Riddle, on taking the floor, remarked that he laid no claims to high legal attainments, no claims to be called an excellent lawyer, and for the information of the ladies, he defined his ideas of an excellent lawyer. He believed that the question of universal franchise would be tried before the grand tribunal of the world, and, if not victorious, it would appeal and appeal again. The question ought to be met squarely by the "masculines" as well as by the women. He was an earnest advocate of Woman's Rights, because he claimed the same rights for his daughters as for his sons; he wanted for them the same atmosphere, the same public opinion, the same prestige.

Man says, "woman must be subjected to me." Perhaps in order to preserve the peace. This could not be demonstrated. He was not prepared to say that man should be subjected to woman. Still they should be on equal footing, and if so, the peace was in no danger. Women were often heard to exclaim, "I wish I was a man." This elucidates how keenly they feel their position. Mr. Riddle argued at great length in favor of universal rights, and his logical arguments attracted the admiration of all who heard him.

The following letter was read from Mrs. O'Donovan (Rossa):

11 UNIVERSITY PLACE, NEW YORK, Jan. 17, 1870.  
J. K. H. Willcox, Esq.:

DEAR SIR: I deeply regret that my approaching voyage to Ireland will debar me from the pleasure I should otherwise experience in accepting the invitation extended to me by the Universal Franchise Association, and conveyed in your letter of the 13th instant; yet, in my unavoidable absence from the approaching Woman Suffrage Convention, be pleased to express for me to its distinguished supporters the assurance of my profound sympathy with the cause they so bravely advocate, and my earnest desire for its speedy triumph.

I wish I could in person tender my thanks to the noble women who first have dared

"To leap the rotten pales of prejudice,  
Disyoke their necks from custom and assert  
None lordlier than themselves."

That which made  
Woman and man!"

But as I am unable to gratify my desire on this point, I shall leave to you the renewed expression of my interest and warm wishes for success, and shall satisfy myself with attentively watching and hoping for the grand result of the present movement in America.

I remain, dear sir, very sincerely,

MARY J. O'DONOVAN (ROSSA).

Miss Phoebe Couzins, of St. Louis, Mo., was then introduced and received with rapturous applause. She said that she was very much dissatisfied with public opinion in the District of Columbia in regard to this movement. Out west great men stood by them, and enthusiasm prevailed at conventions or meetings in aid of the cause. She trusted the audience would make amends for their bad behavior, and applaud or show their satisfaction and approval at any display of intelligence, learning, or humor, or at any flashes of wit she might deliver during the course of her remarks. (Laughter, and loud applause.)

To-day the revolutionary women of the nation were fighting with tongue and pen the battles of future generations; so did Washington fight for future generations and conquered. A republican form of government was said to be the government for the people; but where was a republic when the women were taxed without representation and deprived of their votes like idiots and felons? One objection the men had to woman's suffrage was that woman could not fight; she was physically weak. In view of this men had the unwarrantable assumption to control woman's property. The ballot was the sign of individual liberty; with freedom it came to the slave. Men say women shall not vote, according to custom; but custom had nothing to do with right. (Applause.)

Men even took the Bible to attempt to prove their rights over the women. But they fail to notice that the Bible is not at all republican; it demands obedience to the kings; and these republicans will see that they do not follow the Bible injunctions in carrying on the government. If a majority had the right to ask for a right, the minority had the same. Another story advanced by the men was, that if suffrage was given to the women they would dance round the ballot-box for three hundred and sixty-five days before and after the election, and the poor men would have to attend the baby and keep the kitchen.

Men obtained the ballot for all kinds of men, as it was the only power to elevate mankind. A problem proving itself by an inverse ratio ought to have a prominent place in Euclid.

Another objection advocated by men was the inability of woman to fight and engage in war, the relic of barbarous ages. If women had their way, not a drop of blood would be shed with their consent. Volumes could be written on the heroic deeds of women. Men had often been more cowardly than women. Artaxerxes, after a lost battle, sent a spindle to his commanding general. The building of Babylon showed the works of a woman, and her ingenuity.

A woman held the position of Governor in France during the reign of Henry IV. with great credit. Who had not heard of the heroism of Joan D'Arc, and of the maid of Saragossa, who received a pension and was decorated with medals for her deeds? How many of the women of the late war had received a pension? how many had not? There was no heroism in the present age. A national monument to the soldiers of the late war was to be erected

in this city, and the St. Louis women had inquired whether the women of the war would be represented thereon. A reply was sent to them, stating that a marble shaft crowned with a goddess of liberty would be erected if the money could be raised.

After mentioning the colored women of the south as being especially entitled to the ballot, having suffered so much, Miss Couzins closed her remarks amid loud applause.

The meeting then adjourned till Wednesday morning at ten o'clock.

#### SECOND DAY—WEDNESDAY, JAN. 19.

Meeting came to order at 10 o'clock, Mrs. Stanton, the President in the chair.

The platform was occupied by Mrs. E. C. Stanton, Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing, Senator Pomeroy, Miss Phoebe Couzins, Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Rachel Moore Townsend, Rev. S. J. May, Prof. Willcox, Madame Anneke, Lucy R. Elmes, Rev. Olympia Brown, Hon. James W. Stillman, Mrs. E. G. Kempton, Mrs. Wilbour, and Dr. and Mrs. Lockwood.

Prayer, by Rev. S. J. May, after which Mrs. Josephine S. Griffing addressed the meeting. She stated that the city clergy had evinced a disinclination to attend the convention, as they could not see any justification for the same in Divine revelation. She read a letter from Bishop Simpson, in which he wishes the convention God-speed.

Mrs. Griffing concluded by paying a glowing and eloquent tribute to the late Hon. Edwin M. Stanton.

Miss Anthony then read the following letter, part only here printed:

MILWAUKEE, Wis., January, 1870.

Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour, Chairman Executive Committee of National Woman's Suffrage Association:

DEAR MADAM: It is with very great regret that I am obliged to deny myself the pleasure of participating in your deliberations or being present at the convention to be held in Washington. The illness of one brother and absence of the other render it impossible.

I hope this convention will bring to bear on Congress a power it cannot withstand, backed as it is by the ever-increasing sentiment of the civilized world in our favor, and the warmest heartbeats of thousands of men and women.

May the star that guided the wise men of old, when they brought their myrrh and spice to worship the embodied spirit, guide to successful consummation this movement, which with deeper insight recognizes reverently divinity incarnate in every human being.

Greetings and congratulations for Wyoming. The West claims the banner.

Yours truly,

L. PECKHAM.

The speaker then stated that she had also letters from Miss Sarah Pugh, Mrs. E. G. Pugh, and Abby Kimber, but, as the time was passing, she would relieve her hearers from having them read to the convention.

Mrs. Stanton then announced Senator Pomeroy as the next speaker.

Senator Pomeroy stated that the main objection of the "masculines" to the Woman's Suffrage movement was the inability to fight. Well, that objection was ridiculous; young men of eighteen years of age were called on to fight, and not to vote for three years afterward. There were men of forty-five and upward who, from age or infirmity, were prevented from fighting; still they could vote. So it was satisfactorily proven that fighting was not a necessary condition to voting. For that matter, woman did good fighting during the late war. He was not in favor of compelling women to vote, but he would give them the right to do so by removing the obstacles; in other words,

place them in the same condition as to rights as the men were, and they could exercise them if they pleased. He was in favor of the Sixteenth Amendment, and he thought the best place in the world to try the experiment was in the District of Columbia. They had tried the experiment of negro suffrage in the District, and it had proved a success and a benefit. There were plenty of offices in the city which could be filled by virtuous and now idle young ladies, and which were now filled by men weighing two hundred pounds, who were able to do a day's work but now received large salaries for little work.

Rev. Samuel J. May proposed, after the conclusion of Senator Pomeroy's remarks, to test the ladies present as to their ideas of suffrage. He desired that every lady in the house who desired the ballot should hold up her hand. A few ladies responded.

Mrs. Stanton stated that Mr. May had adopted a very bad manner of submitting the question. She would, therefore, reconsider the vote, and asked all ladies who opposed the sixteenth amendment to please rise from their seats, and those in favor to retain them.

About sixteen ladies arose, amidst great mirth and laughter.

The Chair then announced to Senator Pomeroy that the meeting had expressed itself largely in favor of female suffrage. She was displeased with the praise of gentlemen who had stated that woman had stood her wrongs for six thousand years. Women, in advocating their rights for the last twenty years, had been as brave as the men who stood upon the field of battle. To stand the ridicule and sneers of the whole nation required more courage than to face the mouth of the cannon. It was the sheerest nonsense for women to decline signing a suffrage petition or attend a convention on the ground that their names might appear in public prints. It was well known that every fashionable woman was highly offended when a reporter, in describing a brilliant reception or ball, omitted to mention her, and the beautiful dress she wore.

Mrs. Stanton, after speaking very highly of the lady, introduced Madame Anneke, a German lady, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, who addressed the meeting. She stated that, being a foreigner, allowance should be made for her defective pronunciation. If she could not speak the English language, she could speak the language of the heart. She came from the west, burdened heavily with petitions, signed by one thousand residents of the State of Wisconsin. She would appeal to her countrymen, Carl Schurz and Finkelnburg, to assist in the last struggle for universal liberty.

Mrs. Stanton then introduced a Quaker lady, Mrs. Rachel Moore Townsend, of Philadelphia, who said: Men were too fearful of their popularity to work in this great reform, and descanted at some length on the fearful effects of drunkenness.

The Rev. Olympia Brown particularly addressed herself to that small minority of ladies who had expressed themselves opposed to the Sixteenth Amendment. She admired their independence of character, for it showed they were the kind of women that the friends of Woman Suffrage wished to win over to their cause. She thought them honest in their opinions, but prejudiced. It required strong minds to combat against the common enemy—common prejudice. They may think they do not require this right, as they might be blessed with comfortable homes, and be satisfied with the condition they were in. A change might come

—even to them, but even if it did not, ought they not to pity other women whose situation was less comfortable than their own? She alluded to the idle lives of young women, to which they were condemned by the customs of society, and said Christianity demanded a useful life from every woman as well as every man. This cause is the cause of the civilized world, and will go on till the ballot is in the hands of every American woman.

Mr. Stillman, of R. I., doubted not the result of this agitation would be to secure the universal franchise of all women. Women would be admitted to all colleges of the land, and to the study of the arts and sciences.

Miss Anthony said that Senator Pomeroy was here to advocate Woman Suffrage. It might be attributed to the fact that he had a constituency to sustain him. He had Kansas' 9,070 votes of 1867, and knew now that it would be double that. Let the people of other states make as strong an expression, and their representatives would quickly find their places here too. She wanted women to emigrate to Wyoming and make a model state of it by sending a woman Senator to the national Capitol. She would go there, if she had time, but her mission was in the states, where she was to give her time and her labors until the great reform was accomplished. This high-toned, cheap oratory would not do. She desired women to work—to come forward and become members of the national organization, and to pay their dollar, or twenty-five dollars, or twenty-five hundred dollars. She desired the Finance Committee to take their pencils and paper and canvas the hall for signatures of membership, and money, commencing at the door, so as to catch every single fugitive. She invited all ladies who visit New York especially to visit the Woman's Bureau, and her own sanctum, the editorial rooms of THE REVOLUTION. She was sure every sensible woman would subscribe for THE REVOLUTION.

Miss Phoebe Couzins, of St. Louis, Mo., said custom was hard on woman. When she had finished her education, and felt she possessed talents for another sphere than home, society demanded her to stay at home till somebody picked her up. The lives of most women were a struggle against the partiality of the laws. By what right could a man dictate the sphere of a woman's energy?

Miss Couzins's remarks were received with great applause.

The committee on credentials reported the persons entitled to vote.

The convention then adjourned until eight o'clock.

EVENING SESSION—Mrs. Stanton called the meeting to order, and read the following letters from Senator Ross and Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter of Wisconsin:

WASHINGTON, January 19, 1870.

Miss Susan B. Anthony:

DEAR MADAM: I am in receipt of your invitation to be present this evening at the meeting of the National Suffrage Association, but have to express my regret at my inability, by reason of previous engagements, to do so. Accept, however, my assurance of full and cordial sympathy with the movement to extend the right of suffrage to the women of the country, and my pledge to make that sympathy active on the first or all occasions that may arise for my official action.

Very respectfully your obedient,

E. G. ROSS.

WASHINGTON, January 19.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton:

MADAM: Your favor of the 18th instant, inviting me to address the convention now in session in this city for the promotion of the cause of Female Suffrage, has been

received. I regret that my official duties will not allow me the time to comply with this request; but I assure you, and the ladies with whom you are associated, that I am heartily in sympathy with the efforts you are making for the success of the cause which you especially have so long and so ably advocated.

I beg further to say that the bestowal of the right of equal political suffrage upon the women of this republic cannot, in my judgment, be much longer withheld, and that whatever influence I have shall be exerted, at every proper opportunity, to hasten the consummation for which you are laboring.

I have the honor to be, very truly, yours,

MATT. H. CARPENTER.

Mrs. Stanton made a speech on the Sixteenth Amendment, which was listened to with the closest attention, and its strong points enthusiastically applauded.

At its close, Miss Anthony asked all who were in favor of this amendment to answer "Aye."

The expression in favor was nearly unanimous.

Miss Anthony, then, with complimentary remarks, introduced Miss Jennie Collins, of Lowell, Mass., who addressed the meeting in a speech of some length, which was broken by frequent applause. She came to plead the cause of the working women, her associates. She knew the dignity of the kitchen, many of whose occupants were the daughters of refined and wealthy parents. If these girls could tell their story to the ladies of Washington, they would not rest till Congress had conceded to them their rights. The sufferings of the factory girls could hardly be described; poor wages for hard labor, in dirty rooms, shut out from bright sunshine, with dreary homes, heavy task, and unceasing toil, was but part of their misery. With a love of the ennobling and beautiful, a natural taste for reading and study, many of them were led astray from the path of virtue, by the artifices of men, often the sons of their own employers, and nothing was done to prevent their fall. She closed with feeling remarks in regard to the widows of those who fell in the late war.

Miss Collins's remarks elicited much applause.

Miss Anthony announced that the Senate Committee on the District were to receive the Committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Association on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock, when the convention adjourned until 10:30 the following morning. So great was the interest evinced, that a third day's session had been arranged.

#### THIRD DAY—MORNING SESSION.

The convention reassembled punctual to the hour, with Mrs. Stanton in the chair.

Among the large and fashionable audience present were many Senators and members of Congress, as well as other distinguished persons.

Mrs. Griffing read a lengthy and interesting letter from Mrs. Frances D. Gage.

In the crowded state of our columns we have room for but a small portion of it:

\* \* \* \* \*

More than one-half of the "people, intelligences, persons of the nation," are to-day without the right of franchise, and can exert no civil power in the government, and have no voice in electing its representatives.

They have no voice in making the laws under which they live. If they commit offences they are punished the same as if voters. If they have property it is taxed precisely the same and for the same purposes as is the property of the voter. Government money and lands and revenues are appropriated for schools, colleges, and institutions of learning by the voters for their own use, while the non-voters are debarred all rights and privileges in the same. And it may be said that the disfranchised "have no rights that the enfranchised are bound to respect."

\* \* \* \* \*

A government that fails to execute its own laws and its acts at its own enactments, cannot be respected by its

people. We therefore demand that representatives of the people "shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government;" that the right of suffrage be guaranteed to all persons of sound mind and adult years, without regard to race, color, or sex.

Respectfully,

FRANCES D. GAGE.

Rev. Olympia Brown addressed the meeting, saying when a woman paid her taxes she should have a right of saying for herself how the money should be spent. The announcement that the Governor of Wyoming Territory was in the audience created some excitement to the interruption of Miss Brown's speech. When order was restored, she pursued her subject on Bible grounds.

Miss Couzins having been requested by some one in the audience to speak again, said Missouri was ahead in the cause of justice. She claimed every woman had a right to be tried by a jury of her peers, who must be women. The men of the time are not responsible for the state of society, but they would be held to account for the continuance of it.

Miss Anthony announced the speakers for the evening, when the convention adjourned till 7:30.

EVENING SESSION.—At 7 o'clock the large hall was again crowded with a distinguished and fashionable audience. Upon the platform were E. Cady Stanton, the president; Mrs. Charlotte Wilbour, Mrs. Paulina W. Davis, Mrs. Martha C. Wright, Miss Anthony, Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Madame Anneke, Mrs. Josephine Griffing, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Rev. S. J. May, Mrs. Elmes, Mrs. Kempton, and many others.

Madam Anneke was the first speaker, and in her forcible way made a strong argument in favor of the proposed Sixteenth Amendment. Every true and noble German was in favor of giving the same rights to his wife he himself enjoyed.

Rev. Samuel J. May said the movement was the most radical one ever proposed to the civilized world. America had suffered severely because it had violated the rights of 4,000,000 people. If the rights of 15,000,000 were much longer violated, severe suffering still would be induced.

After some discussion by Miss Anthony, Prof. Willcox, Mrs. Stanton, and one or two speakers the audience, regarding the wages paid the women employed in the U. S. Treasury Department, and the course of the trustees of the public schools of the District of Columbia, Mrs. Charlotte B. Wilbour was introduced, and gave a powerful argument in favor of suffrage. She said: In demanding suffrage for women we are not making any innovation on political principles, but only attempting to restore the broken connection between practice and profession.

A steady, constant, palpable ignoring of the application of great truths, like the claim of woman's rights, and the equality of all before the law, begets a reckless manner of assertion, an illogical application of premises, and thence a sort of organic dishonesty of mind which is carried into practice almost unconsciously.

Every subject of a government who has not a voice in its conduct is openly degraded, and must be something more or less than human not to show it in the conduct of his life.

We demand the ballot for women in the name of that very domesticity which is urged against it, of that home whose peace has always been more marred by passive servility and masculine authority than by any over-assertion of individuality, on the part of the so-called partner.

We demand it in the name of those unfilled aspirations of the soul of women, that no subordinate sphere can satisfy, and that are just as sacred in the eyes of God as the sublimest desires of our brothers. We demand it in the name of justice, that daring to hang a woman for trampling on its laws, should give her the same right to be tried by her peers that you give the lowest male citizen in this republic.

We demand the ballot in the name of that consistency which is outraged in the denial of the fundamental law of your commonwealth by our disfranchisement.

I have no fear but that this struggle will educate women to the place we demand, and the greatness of the purpose will make us greater for the execution of it; and when the hosts of even vacillating are enthused and enlightened by the noble magnetism of those strong, calm, beautiful souls who give us the measure of womanly possibility to deny, they will move forward in serried order to the music of their own rekindled thoughts, with a power which shall not ask even the jarring ramshorns to shake the walls of exclusiveness around this political Jericho.

Remarks followed by Rev. Mr. May, Mr. Hinton of Washington, and Miss Anthony, the latter of whom related her Kansas experience. She was followed by Mrs. Stanton. She said this was no more the woman's question than the man's. She desired the women to be educated as well as the men. She desired girls to be industrious as well as men. The man who spent his days in idleness was not respected, still society held that woman's sphere was to do nothing. But the fortunes of parents were often swept away, and what was to be the fate of their daughters. Girls should be able to live independent of their fathers, necessity sooner or later might demand it. But the ladies of fashion and of luxury say that they do not want the ballot, they were well provided for. These women never thought of the struggles of the poor working woman. If the rich could dispense with the ballot, the poor could not. Many women could form no idea of the sufferings of the poor, they perhaps never read Victor Hugo's great work, "Les Misérables." How was it these ladies did not desire to vote. Did the feeling heart of womanhood not desire the ballot when it saw a poor unfortunate wretch hung in order to help to abolish this relic of barbarism. When they saw a fair-haired boy shut up in the vilest prison, under the most barbarous discipline, did they not desire the ballot in order to better these institutions. "Let us feel for the sons of the poor as we feel for our own," and everything would go right. (Applause.) Conventions had been held to propose measures to lessen crime, and they proposed a licensed system of vice, after the barbarous custom of Europe. No true man, no true woman would vote in favor of such a disgraceful bill. Legislation should be for the daughters of the poor as well as for the rich. Vice never recruited from the ranks of the toiling girls; it took the gay, the well raised but impoverished girls. Woman's vote meant the building up of a true republic, founded on true womanhood. They were the architects of their families, of their states, of their churches. Woman's mission was a grand and unlimited one. As the artist chiseled from the rough block of marble the beautiful angel imprisoned in the block, so "woman's suffrage" was to chisel out of the block of superstition, the long imprisoned woman, free in all her beauty and glory.

Miss Anthony then read a letter from Hon. Jacob H. Ela, of New Hampshire, wherein he assures the Convention of his hearty sympathy. She announced that a committee from the convention were to have an interview with the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia at half past ten on Saturday, and they hoped to make it a joint hearing of the Committees of both Houses of the District.

The past three days, she said, had been an old-fashioned protracted or camp-meeting. Who would have thought that people of Washington would come there and listen to these women, who had never had any instruction, or attended even a debating society. They were not orators, but they commanded attention because they spoke from their souls, and because they had something to say. The audience listened, not because they were learned or eloquent after the fashion of the world, but because they had come here to tell the truth, because they tell of woman's wrongs through ages, and because they felt that the hour for these wrongs to be righted had come.

If this Congress did not pass the Sixteenth Amendment, the Forty-second would. If this Congress desired to make itself immortal, now was an opportunity to do so.

She then spoke of the convention just about to close, as a decided success, and called upon Senator Sherman, of Ohio, to address the meeting, who expressed himself highly pleased with the Convention to which he only came as a listener.

SYRACUSE, JANUARY 18, 1870.

Mrs. M. E. J. GAGE—Dear Friend: I doubt not this meeting will urge emphatically upon Congress the duty of striking the word "male" from the Suffrage bill for the District of Columbia. It is a gross injustice, a shame that such a term should be in any legal paper defining citizenship in any civilized state, especially a shame that it should stand in a bill touching Suffrage, in what ought to be the model District, the choice sample ground of wise and just government for the model republic. Let an indignant protest and admonition go up in regard to this matter from your convention, that Congress shall not dare to disregard. I trust also that the convention will urge upon Congress the eminent fitness and duty of passing without delay the Sixteenth Amendment and submitting the same to the legislatures of the several states for ratification.

The world is moving to-day in the direction of the abolition of all monopolies of privilege and that of equal and exact justice and fair play to all classes. Woman now has the floor; the hour has struck for her. Wyoming and Colorado are already setting example for the older communities. Let the preaching of this faith in effective way, its benign and thorough working, begin at Jerusalem, at the capital of the nation, and may your convention urge the work to immediate undertaking, aye, and completion then, at home.

Yours truly,

CHAS. D. B. MILLS.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA N. Y., Jan. 17, 1870.

Mrs. M. E. JOSLYN GAGE—Dear Madam: I beg you to be assured that I heartily sympathize with all well-directed efforts to secure to woman equality before the law.

Whatever can be done to give her a fair and equal chance with man, is due to her, and no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure so desirable a consummation. Very respectfully yours,

HOMER B. SPRAGUE.

Mrs. Helen Taylor, of London, after expressing the wish that she might be with us says:

It is a great delight to hear of the numerous societies, in various countries, working well and vigorously for that justice which for so long has been denied to women. The time cannot be far distant now, when we shall attain the right of expressing our opinion by giving a vote.

Beside those published, letters joining in the demand for a Sixteenth Amendment were received from E. H. G. Clarke, of Troy, N. Y.; S. D. Dillaye, of Syracuse; Martha B. Dickinson, Sarah Pugh, Mrs. E. K. Pugh, and Abby Kimber, of Philadelphia, and many others.

After further business remarks by Miss Anthony, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Delegates from the following states were present: New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, Wyoming, Missouri, Arkansas, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, California, and the District of Columbia.

During the sessions of the Convention some two hundred ladies and gentlemen of Washington joined the National Woman's Suffrage Association, and petitions for woman suffrage numbering fifteen or twenty thousand names, were laid before Congress. But the crowning success of the Convention was the respectful reception of its Committee by a joint Committee of both Houses of Congress, a full account of which will be found in another column.

#### VOICES FROM CONNECTICUT.

DEAR REVOLUTION: I send you a few extracts from letters which I have recently received from an intelligent young farmer of this state. They are interesting as showing the hold which our cause obtains upon sensible people of honest minds, who are surrounded by the wholesome influences of country life; and they are encouraging as showing how such persons, when converted to Woman Suffrage, can become and are ready to become active and efficient helpers of it.

These and similar letters, received from others, show me very clearly that in this conservative old state, we are gaining and shall constantly gain valuable adherents to our cause.

Truly yours,

I. B. H.

Hartford, Conn., Jan. 15, 1870.

November 22, 1869.

DEAR MADAM: We are to have a public debate on this question: "Resolved, That the elective franchise ought to be extended to woman," December 8th. Our opponents say we ought to have a woman on the affirmative to speak for herself. Where can we get one? I think the calm self-possession and sympathetic elocution of a woman on our platform, will avail more than our masculine talk. To be sure, this is a small place, but then power is not always measured by numbers.

We have a glorious acquisition in Nasby. The wife wins. Your success at Hartford was splendid and we must follow it up. Shall be there to see next time. Well! the battle goes bravely on. Conservatives look blue and throw democratic institutions overboard; and cry out for restrictions on the franchise. One man can answer for five better than they can for themselves. Individual responsibility and universal suffrage are awful bugbears.

Strange, that after our terrible baptism of fire and blood, men should take counsel only of their fears and have not faith in humanity and God.

January 12, 1870.

Having had a little experience last night, you will pardon me for hastening to tell you of it.

I was invited to attend the Lyceum in M. and help the Woman Suffrage question. / It was late when I arrived, and the clerk was calling the names of the affirmative speakers to open the debate. All declined. The question has never been up there. They at once insisted on my doing it. There were four lawyers, one Rev., merchants and farmers. Each speaker was limited to fifteen minutes. No, would not be taken for answer, so I went at it.

1st. The organic principles of our government.  
2d. Taxation without representation is tyranny.  
3d. Granting the franchise will lead to redress of woman's legal wrongs.  
4th. Withholding it tends to ignorance and degradation.

Therefore it will be a benefit to woman and a blessing to society to extend to her the franchise. I laid stress on the fact that it was woman's duty to vote. She must

be placed on an equality before the law, before the social reform at which we all aim can take place.

After speaking, the negative failed to fill their turns. They wanted to think of the matter. If woman wanted this privilege, why don't she ask for it, etc. They wanted to hear further of the matter and adjourned to two weeks from Wednesday night. They were candid and fair, wished to know what effect it would have on equalizing wages, etc. What did the bible argument mean? If you think of anything that will help me, please designate where it is obtainable. My conviction is the same as Charles Sumner's. When woman signifies a desire for the ballot, the American people will give it.

Last year I could not find a woman who wished to vote: now I can count a score. I have come to the conclusion that the women as a mass will do as the men say. If we say it is their duty and we must have their influence, they will come. \* \* \* \* \*

January 4, 1870.

I did not receive your package till last night. After a hard days work in the woods, I had but little inclination to read. It shows how wide-spread the sentiment of justice to woman is in the community, to find some of the ablest minds expressing the thoughts revolving in your own mind. I have been reading Julia Welgewood's article on Female Suffrage, which you recommended so highly, and I found the main points were those which I had chopped out for an answer as to the effect of suffrage on wages. "Woman's Work and Culture" leaves me nothing to desire on the application of the question.

I shall strive to make a strong point on woman's duty to vote, in M., so that public sentiment can be brought to bear for the enforcement of the Maine Law against the sixteen rum-shops in their town.

The leader of the negative in this place does not wish to discuss Woman's Suffrage any more. Admits that women will vote in Connecticut in less than six years. This is more than I have dared to claim. If Vermont carries it this year, the reform will sweep right along. I have enlisted for life, and nailed the flag to the mast. We shall conquer. Tell Mr. H. I have enlisted Mr. W. into the cause after a half day's talk. He is a young lawyer of ability and will do good service. Will circulate the pamphlets and petitions. Thanks for them.

#### LADY BYRON ON "FALLEN WOMEN."

MRS. DALL of Boston says in the daily *Advertiser* of that city, that when Lady Byron had been asked to give her name as Lady Patroness to an effort to reclaim unfortunate women, her instinctive delicacy always deterred her. When it was urged that any words of her's would have great weight on account of her well known character, she wrote the annexed appeal, to be used, without signature, as a private circular:

#### APPEAL.

We are taught by St. John that love for a fellow-creature is the absolutely necessary condition of love to God, and that the forgiveness of sin is bound up with our having loved much. All experience of amendment attests the truth of this principle. Apply it, then, to the case of fallen women. Toward whom can they exercise such affection as the Gospel speaks of? Towards the authors of their ruin? Toward their associates in guilt? Toward those who repudiate them as outcasts or would ignore their existence? If the impure could love the innocent—if they could feel "virtue in her own form how lovely," might they not offer that tribute? No; it would be rejected as an insult, scorned as an hypocrisy; we deny them the means, the very possibility of being freed from sin, and sinning no more.

In fact, we say let them remain unconverted, rather than pollute our atmosphere; it is enough to give them a refuge apart and mercenary care. Is there, then, no higher christian grace than this? Could we not be more virtuous that they might be less vicious? Dare we not, after making it possible for them to love us, by tenderness, succor and consolation, to allow them to love us, to see in our eyes the witness of a holier kindness than they have yet known?

Yes, let us give sisters to the sisterless, and through that blessed sympathy, God to the godless.

Asylums are good, missionaries better, organization indispensable; but what profiteth all without charity? Gratitude is the answer of heart to heart.

It resolves itself into prayer to God and service to man. The grand secret of redemption, divine or human, lies in the words, "Who first loved us."

Go forth, then, woman, strong in that faith! go forth to learn even more than to teach; and if you have never felt a common bond between you and these degraded ones, recognize it now.

While humbly thankful for your happier lot, lay your privileges at the feet of those who have forfeited theirs, and take upon you their burdens; so shall all be brought nearer to Him who gave Himself for us, the just for the unjust.

#### LETTER FROM MRS. MILLER.

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION.

GENEVA, N. Y., Jan. 9, 1870.

DEAR REVOLUTION: The following circular of the International Woman's Association, sent from Switzerland, by Madame Goegg, you would, perhaps, like to publish:

"The International Woman's Association," pursuing with zeal the work it commenced in June, 1868, would restate the end it proposes and the motives which actuate it. Its aim is to protest publicly against the injustice of certain of the laws of all countries in regard to woman; to point out the wretchedness and the abuses which these laws occasion; to labor to change them; and to demand for woman equality with man in the enjoyment of all social and political rights.

It wishes, at the same time, to form among virtuous women of all countries and all social conditions, a bond of union and a *solidarity* of moral interests which shall destroy the systematic isolation in which women have lived in respect to one another, and to constitute for them a rallying centre—a bond which shall permit them to work together for mutual aid.

To persons animated by sincere religious convictions, who would wish to see our Association throw out the banner of a *creed*, we would say: Our aim is to secure the well-being of all women without distinction of theologies, and we should fail in our attempt if we did not remain entirely impartial at this point.

To those who dread a social danger in the change of woman's position, we would say: Fear nothing—the daughter, the wife, the mother, will always conciliate their new duties with the old. The more a woman is enlightened by education, ennobled by work, and elevated by the exercise of her rights, the more will she excel in virtues—forgetfulness of duty springs from ignorance and from moral and physical dependence.

Our Association has already surmounted the first obstacles—the most difficult steps are taken—the route is laid out—we have but to follow, with courage and perseverance.

We conjure woman to shake off the sad indifference which leads her to neglect the examination of new and serious ideas.

We would also say that the oppressed who struggle for a just cause should not be discouraged by the apparent want of success, nor by a protracted struggle; but should, on the contrary, be stimulated to renewed exertion that the end may be sooner attained.

MARIE GOEGG, President.

The Central Committee of this Association is in Geneva, Switzerland. There are Local Committees in Germany, America, England, France, Italy, Portugal and Switzerland. The American Committee consists of Mrs. E. C. Stanton, New York, and Mrs. E. S. Miller, Geneva, N. Y., with either of whom those wishing to become members may communicate. The fee of membership is three francs (60 cents in gold) yearly.

In a private letter from Madame Goegg, she says: "When I think of the justice of our

cause, and when I see it defended by advocates as eminent as Heinzen in America, J. S. Mill in England, Richer in France, and Morelli in Italy, my heart thrills, and I say to myself: it is impossible that we shall not succeed in a few years.

"Mill's book, how beautiful and good! I have not found a line in opposition to my own views. It expresses what I feel, what I say, and what I wish I might say to the four quarters of the globe. The book of Mr. Morelli is quite new. It was only yesterday that I received it. It is called 'Woman and Science,' and I suppose that Mr. Morelli draws from science the same conclusions in behalf of woman which Mr. Mill gives us from the great principles of justice and equity."

Speaking of Mrs. Stanton, Madame Goegg says: "Her name is a glorious banner!" and that it is inscribed on their Circular with pleasure and deep gratitude.

Rejoicing in the continued life and vigor of THE REVOLUTION,

Yours truly,

ELIZBETH S. MILLER.

#### OVER THE FENCE.

DEAR REVOLUTION: You may set me down at once, as a thorough advocate for "Woman's Rights," from this day, henceforth, and forever.

I have been, as the politicians say, "On the fence," ever since the grand movement was inaugurated, silently looking on, and hoping for clearer vision. It has come at last, with a stunning blow, which has wholly converted me, "body and soul," to this noble cause. I am now *over the fence*.

I would not thrust private griefs into public ears, but attentive observation for many years has fully demonstrated that under the present administration of affairs, as a *general thing*, a wife has no rights that a husband feels bound to respect.

It is the cause of more sorrows and separations than all the poverty that ever was inflicted upon mankind. If "Woman Suffrage" is the remedy, let it speedily come—if not, probe to the very centre of the evil, leave not a stone unturned, that may help to bring about a revolution so greatly needed.

D. N.

Chicago, January 12, 1870.

#### SEQUEL TO "UP BROADWAY."

I observe with great pleasure that Eleanor Kirk has commenced a serial in the columns of the *Citizen and Round Table*, entitled, "A Sequel to 'Up Broadway.'" "Up Broadway" originally appeared in THE REVOLUTION, and is soon to be issued by G. W. Carleton, in book form. Both are from life, and the latter promises to be as intensely interesting as the former. The amount of good such stories accomplish is incalculable; and I am not only glad for the readers of the *Citizen*, and the hundreds of suffering women who, through this narration, will be given strength to fight and conquer, but for the *Citizen* itself. My attention has been from time to time directed to short and snappish articles in the editorial columns of the *Citizen*, reflecting seriously upon the conduct of some of the foremost women in the reform movement, invariably speaking of them as "wild women." Now I congratulate its editor not only upon having procured the services of the writer—but also one of the wildest of the so-called "wild women." Surely, "straws show which way the wind blows."

ALLA.

# The Revolution.

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 27, 1870.

## MR. GREELEY AWAKE.

THE most striking feature of the Woman's Suffrage campaign at Washington is reserved for the last. We print on the second page this morning a careful and very interesting account of the interview between the Committee from the Woman's Suffrage Convention and the Joint Committees of the House and Senate of the District of Columbia. If these excellent women do not appear to so good advantage when subjected to the calm cross-examination of the Committee as they did in the midst of their imperious eloquence on the platform, they must not charge the blame of it upon us.—*Tribune*.

The *Tribune* to-day does not print careful or truthful reports of our Conventions. It constantly misrepresents both the ladies and gentlemen who attend them. For example: the Honorable Senator from Ohio, John Sherman, being invited to speak, arose and in a gentlemanly manner declined, as he had come to listen and not to talk; he was reported in the *Tribune* as having run out of the house.

We heard the Hon. Charles Sumner tell the *Tribune* reporter that the hearing before the District Committee had made a deep impression; that in the twenty years of his public life he had never seen a committee more interested in a subject before them, nor a cause more ably advocated. Yet the *Tribune* says "it was not apparent that any favorable impression had been made upon the Committee."

The *Tribune* says Gov. Campbell of Wyoming was not in the Convention. He was there, and when called on to speak hastened to the dressing room where several ladies on the platform went to shake hands with him. Like Gen. Grant, he is not given to speech-making, and begged to be excused. He visited the ladies at the Arlington House and was in the Convention several times, all of which the *Tribune* reporter knew. Again, it says some half dozen of the members were in the Convention at different times. Hundreds were there. Of the many we met at receptions, at the hotel and the Capitol, all said they had been there. The whole report is unfair, as all other papers fully show.

The *Tribune* says, when Mr. Cooke, of Illinois, asked Mrs. Stanton what evidence she had that the women desired to vote, that "the lady answered irrelevantly." She answered clearly and pointedly, that she had just been addressing large audiences of women in the West, in seven different States, shaking hands and talking with hundreds everywhere, in private as well as public, and she found the women most enthusiastically alive on the whole subject.

She referred the gentleman to the immense number of petitions sent into the several State Legislatures, the New York Constitutional Convention in '67, as well as into Congress for the last eight years. No paper but the *Tribune* reports that Mrs. Stanton said Mr. Greeley's caution on our question is the result of his de-

sire to be President, or that Miss Anthony advised women not to marry. Both statements are false.

If the *Tribune* reporter, who has been kindly recognized in our most private circles is encouraged to retail in the editorial sanctum of that office what she sees and hears, and misrepresents our social life, as she does our public utterances, we are not surprised at the tone of that journal. It is as absurd for the *Tribune* to send a mere child who has no knowledge of or sympathy with this grand movement, to report the proceedings of a Convention, as it would have been to have sent some popinjay of Tory blood and sympathies to report the hot debates of Jefferson, Hancock, Adams and Patrick Henry, to tell the world that these men, fighting for freedom, demanding "liberty or death," had "no atmosphere of calm, considerate justice."

The *Tribune* would no doubt have told those contentious gentlemen to walk into Great Britain and take their rights; and "stopped its ears to their profane and vain babblings."

Many leading gentlemen in Washington, who noted the profound impression made by the Convention in all circles, expressed their astonishment that a man of Mr. Greeley's sense of honor and justice, should allow so grave a movement of women of such dignity, ability and high character to be thus flippantly served up in the columns of his journal which has been supposed to give its readers the historical events of the day, and not caricatures, by unthinking or prejudiced minds. If the *Tribune* wishes its readers to know how well American women can appear before a Congressional Committee, it should publish their arguments, instead of a mere child reporter's feeble impressions.

## SENATOR SHERMAN AND THE WOMEN.

To the Editor of the *Tribune*:

SIR: Permit me to correct an error in your report of the proceedings at the Woman's Suffrage Convention just closed in this city. It stated that Senator Sherman, when called upon to come forward and speak, responded not, but turned his back upon Miss Anthony and marched to the door. I leveled my opera-glass at Senator Sherman when Miss Anthony first called upon him and attentively watched every movement he made. He arose and said that he did not come to speak but to listen, and would simply say that he had been very much gratified, and resuming his seat he remained until the close of the meeting. H. M. BARNARD.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 22, 1870.

## THE WOMEN IN WASHINGTON.

DEPUTATION FROM THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION BEFORE THE JOINT COMMITTEES OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A DEPUTATION consisting of Mrs. M. E. Joslyn Gage, Charlotte B. Wilbour, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Paulina Wright Davis, Madam Anneke, Martha C. Wright, Rev. Olympia Brown, Isabella Beecher Hooker, Phoebe Couzens, Josephine S. Griffing, and Susan B. Anthony, was appointed from the Convention to wait on the District Committees and ask a hearing, which was granted for Saturday, Jan. 22d. The Deputation attended by a large number of distinguished friends of the cause appeared at the Capitol, crowding one of the large committee rooms. The Joint Committees from the Senate and the House consisting of Honorables Hamlin, Sumner,

Patterson, Rice, Vickers, Pratt, Harris, Cook, Welcker, Williams, Cowles, Bowles, Gilfillen, were punctual to the minute, and gave the ladies a respectful hearing of two hours.

Senator Hamlin, Chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, called the meeting to order and spoke as follows:

We have met this morning for the purpose of considering two petitions which have been presented, I believe, only to the Senate Committee of the District of Columbia. The first one is a petition, very numerously signed, I think, by both ladies and gentlemen of this city; and, in a few brief words, it adds that: "The undersigned, residents of the District of Columbia, earnestly, but respectfully request that you extend the Right of Suffrage to the women of the District of Columbia." The other memorial, very nearly as brief, is in these words: "The undersigned citizens of the United States pray your honorable body that in the proposed amendments to the Constitution which may come before you in regard to Suffrage, and in any law affecting Suffrage, in the District of Columbia or in any Territory, the right of voting may be given to the women on the same terms as to the men."

Upon this subject we have some lady friends who desire to address us, and I have the pleasure of introducing to you Mrs. Stanton, who will offer us some suggestions.

Mrs. Stanton addressed the Committee as follows:

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN: Accustomed to appeal to the sentiments, and combat the prejudices of popular assemblies, it is a comparatively easy task to plead the cause of woman before clear, logical, dispassionate minds—committees of statesmen—trained to view all subjects in the light of pure reason; for unprejudiced minds admit to-day that if the democratic theory of government is true, the argument lies wholly on our side of this question. As history shows that each step in civilization has been a steady approximation to our democratic theory, securing larger liberties to the people, it is fair to infer that its full realization—"the equal rights of all"—will be the best possible government. Whatever is true in theory, is safe in practice, and those holding the destinies of nations in their hands should legislate with a sublime faith in eternal principles.

As bills are soon to be introduced into both the Senate and the House, asking further special legislation for the District, we appear before you at this time to urge that the women of the District shall share equally in all the rights, privileges and immunities you propose to confer on male citizens.

We would not rehearse the oft-repeated argument to prove suffrage a natural right, for it is clear that whatever a citizen needs to protect life, liberty and happiness, he should possess under government, and the fact that no unrepresented class was ever protected in these blessings, shows that a voice in government is the necessity of all. Hence, as the foundation of all other rights, we ask the suffrage for the women of the District, because the theory of our government, and the spirit of the Federal constitution made this their inalienable right in the establishment of this government.

In the adjustment of the question of Suffrage, now before the people of this country for settlement, it is of the highest importance that the organic law of the land should be so framed and construed as to secure political equality to all citi-

zens. Persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside, but the immunities and privileges of American citizenship, however defined, are national in character, and paramount to all state authority.

While the constitution of the United States leaves the qualifications of electors to the several states, it nowhere gives them the right to deprive any citizen of the elective franchise; they may regulate, but not prohibit the franchise.

The constitution of the United States expressly declares that no state shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; hence those provisions of the several state constitutions that exclude women from the franchise are in direct violation of the Federal constitution. Even the preamble recognizes, in the phrase "We the people," the true origin of all just government.

Preamble. We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

Are not women people?

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government.

How can that form of government be republican, when one-half the people are forever deprived of all participation in its affairs?

Article 6. The constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The constitution tells us, too, who are citizens. The Fourteenth Amendment says:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

It has just been decided by the Supreme Court that a foreign born woman is naturalized by marriage to a native. Therefore, as birth and marriage secure the right of citizenship to large classes, the remaining classes of foreign unmarried women should secure naturalization papers, that we may all test our right to vote in the courts.

As the subject of naturalization is expressly withheld from the states, and as the states would clearly have no right to deprive of the franchise naturalized citizens, among whom women are expressly included, still more clearly have they no right to deprive native born women-citizens of this right.

The states have the right to regulate but not to prohibit the elective franchise to citizens of the United States. Thus the states may determine the qualifications of electors. They may require the elector to be of a certain age, to have had a fixed residence, to be of a sane mind, and unconvicted of crime, etc., because these are qualifications or conditions that all citizens sooner or later may attain; but to go beyond this, and say to one-half the citizens of the state, notwithstanding you possess all these qualifications, you shall never vote, is of the very essence of despotism. It is a bill of attainder of the most odious character.

On this point the constitution says:

Art. 1, Sec. 9. No bill of attainder, or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States.

No state shall pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law—or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.—See *Cummings vs. the State of Mo.*, 4th—[Wallace Rep. 278, and *Ex parte Garland*, same volume.]

Opposed to this provision of the constitution, by the Fifteenth Amendment, you have established an aristocracy of sex, sanctioning the unjust legislation of the several states, which make all men nobles, all women serfs, and the contracts of every married woman a dead letter. Justice and equity can only be attained, by having the same laws for men and women in the district as well as the state.

A further investigation of the subject will show that the language of the constitutions of all the states, with the exception of those of Massachusetts and Virginia on the subject of Suffrage is peculiar. They almost all read substantially alike. "White male citizens, etc., shall be entitled to vote," and this is supposed to exclude all other citizens. There is no direct exclusion, except in the two states above named. Now the error lies in supposing that an enabling clause is necessary at all. The right of the people of a state to participate in a government of their own creation requires no enabling clause; neither can it be taken from them by implication. To hold otherwise, would be to interpolate in the constitution a prohibition that does not exist. In framing a constitution, the people are assembled in their sovereign capacity; and being possessed of all rights and all powers, what is not surrendered is retained. Nothing short of a direct prohibition can work a deprivation of rights that are fundamental.

In the language of John Jay to the people of New York, urging the adoption of the constitution of the United States, "silence and blank paper neither give nor take away anything," and Alexander Hamilton says (*Federalist*, No. 83), "Every man of discernment must at once perceive the wide difference between silence and abolition."

The mode and manner in which the people shall take part in the government of their creation may be prescribed by the constitution, but the right itself is antecedent to all constitutions. It is inalienable, and can neither be bought, nor sold, nor given away. But even if it should be held that this view is untenable, and that women are disfranchised by the several state constitutions directly, or by implication, then I say that such prohibitions are clearly in conflict with the constitution of the United States and yield thereto.

The language of that instrument is clear and emphatic: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." "No state shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

It would be impossible to add to the force or effect of such language, and equally impossible to attempt to explain it away.

The proposition is now before the people of the District to abolish the municipal government and reduce this to a mere territory, which is clearly retrogressive legislation; as in the former, the chief magistrate is elected by the people and in the latter appointed by the President.

In your civil rights bill, compelling black and white to vote together, to go to school together,

to ride in the cars together, you have taken a grand step in progress. If in the proposed bills soon to come before you for the establishment of a medical college in the district, and an improved school system, you shall as carefully guard the rights of women to equal place and salary, you will take another onward step.

In making the changes you propose, it is evident you are doing to day an elementary work in which all the people should have a voice; hence, your primal duty is to extend to the women of the district the right of suffrage, that they may vote on the schools, colleges, hospitals, prisons, and whether their government shall be republican with a representative in Congress, municipal officers, or territorial with a Governor appointed by the President. In doing such fundamental work, many distinguished publicists have expressed the opinion that all the people should have a voice. Judge Beach Lawrence, in a letter to Hon. Charles Sumner, said: "In the revision of a state constitution, the state is for the time being resolved into its original elements, and all the people have a right to vote on the fundamental laws that are to govern them. A state constitution must originate with and be assented to by a majority of the people including as well those whom it disfranchises as those whom it invests with the suffrage."

This principle was recognized in the Constitutional Conventions of New York in 1801 and 1821, when all men voted on a property qualification. By certain acts of the Legislature all qualifications were set aside, and it was decreed that all men, black and white, had the right to vote for members to a Constitutional Convention, yea, more, to be eligible to seats therein to frame the fundamental laws by which Governors and Senators were made, though they had no voice in the general elections.

When Rhode Island adopted her first constitution, the same principle was recognized. In the debates in the Illinois Convention, now in session, members refused to swear to support the state constitution, because, said they, "it is absurd to swear to support what we are now tearing to pieces. We are doing an elementary work, and are amenable to the Federal constitution alone."

Ever since the abolition of slavery, the District has been resolved into its original elements. In fact by the war, and the revision of the Federal constitution, the nation, too, has been resolved into its original elements, and the women have had, and have to-day, the right to say on what basis the District, their several states, and the nation shall be reconstructed.

We think, honorable gentlemen, you must all see the broad application of this principle. And if all the people should have a voice in the revision of a state, or national constitution, women must be included.

The constitution confers, by express grant upon Congress, "exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever," for the purposes of government. Under this grant Congress, by the 1st section of the act of January 8th, 1867, enacted that each and every male person of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been born or naturalized in the United States, who shall have resided in the said District for the period of one year, and three months in the ward or election precinct in which he shall offer to vote, shall be entitled to the elective franchise, and shall be deemed an elector, and entitled to vote. This act, you perceive, recognizes the pre-existing right of all persons, and excludes women only

by the use of the word male, if, as Hamilton says, "silence on that point is abolition."

Says Lamartine, "universal suffrage is the first truth and only basis of every genuine republic." "The ballot," says Senator Sumner, "is the columbiad of our political life, and every citizen who has it is a full-armed monitor."

It is fitting that here, under the shadow of the national Capitol, under the control of the Federal government, where the black man was first emancipated and enfranchised, that the experiment of a true republicanism should be tried, and woman, too, crowned with all the rights, privileges and immunities of an American citizen.

It is from no narrow, selfish, or captious spirit, that, at an hour like this, we press woman's claim to the ballot, but that we may now end this protracted debate on suffrage, and vindicate the republican idea, by securing equal rights to all.

Great moral revolutions, lifting nations to higher planes of thought and action, are often achieved so silently that few note the onward steps.

Our late war struck the chains not only from 2,000,000 black men, but the 15,000,000 women of this country, in the blood of their sires and sons, learned that they, too, had an interest in the government.

We have not been indifferent readers of our national history, nor idle spectators of the tragic scenes of the last eight years. In the hospitals, and on the battle-fields—in the sanitary movements, and desolated homes; in the prolonged debates on human rights to which these walls have echoed, the women of this country have been quickened to new thought and action, and to-day they demand not only the rights of citizenship in the District, but a sixteenth amendment to the Federal constitution, as the crowning glory of the war.

[From this point we give Mrs. Stanton's address, as phonographically reported.]

Woman has just gone through the agony and death, the resurrection triumph of another revolution, doing all in her power to gild its glories and mitigate its horrors, and now, think you, we have no souls to feel, no brains to weigh your arguments, that after education such as this we can stand silent witnesses and see you sell our birthright of liberty? No! Like you, we, too, feel the new pulsations of freedom beating in our souls. You can hardly suppose that in all the great movements for liberty of this nineteenth century, we have no part. When even two million slaves have had the ballot laid at their feet, and men everywhere are demanding new rights, think you the daughters of Jefferson, and Hancock, and Adams, in whose veins flows the blood of two revolutions, will forever linger around the camp-fires of an old civilization and not join this grand army of freedom to roll back the golden gates to a higher and better civilization?

Our fathers were not satisfied when told they were represented in the British Parliament by Lord North. When the South complained that they were not represented in the government, were they satisfied with the answer that they were represented by the Senators from Massachusetts and New York? Neither am I satisfied with being represented by the Hon. John Morrissey in the Congress of the United States, and by the two gentlemen in the legislature of New York, who can neither read nor write. I am not satisfied with that kind of representation.

James Otis, who is good authority on this subject, told us long ago that there was no such thing as virtual representation; that it was all sham, delusion and mockery; and the fact that man cannot represent woman is clearly proved in the change in legislation in all our states for the last twenty years. Men have always supposed in making laws, that what was good for themselves, precisely the opposite was good for the woman by his side. Hence they have legislated all our property rights, wages, children into their own hands. We understand what we want a great deal better than any man can. You all know that no one class can, or ever has, wisely represented another. The white men of the South tried to represent the negro, yet what kind of laws did they make for him? So also in regard to the legislation in foreign countries, as respects the lower orders. We have heard a great deal about taxation without representation being tyranny. That was the theme for many an eloquent oration in the parliaments of the Old World, and for many a hot debate in the forests of the New. And yet have you ever thought that you are taxing all the women of this country without giving them any voice or representation? We are obliged to build schoolhouses, sidewalks, and pay for all sorts of improvements—yes, even this Capitol at Washington, without ever having one voice as to how our funds shall be expended. We build colleges from which we are excluded; churches, in which we have no right to vote, and legislative halls where, even when presenting petitions, we have not always been treated with proper respect and dignity. When Victoria enters the British Parliament, every voice is hushed in reverence and awe. But American women, even in the Congress of the United States, have not always been received as if they were really represented by the gentlemen on the floor.

I know there is a great deal of honest feeling among many men, that if women should have the right to vote, it would divide the household. Now, gentlemen, how many households are divided already? In Massachusetts we have 1,600 divorces in one year. All through the western states we have divorces without number. I see every reason why, if women have the right to vote, we should have greater family harmony. You have seen two dogs quarreling over a bone; but let two bones be thrown to them and the quarreling ceases. Just so with two votes. Another objection made is, "that women do not want to vote." That is a very great mistake. I never talked with a woman five minutes in my life, but I found she was ready to vote. Never! But that is not the question. When you established free schools you did not go to the urchins of the country and say, "children, do you want schools?" No. You decided that free schools were important to the well-being of the whole country, and to republican institutions, and you established them forthwith. Nor in establishing prohibitory laws, do you go to the drunkards of the country, and say, "do you want prohibitory laws?" But you decide that they are for the benefit of the people at large, and then enact them. The question in regard to woman is not whether all that is noble in her has been so blunted by custom and ignorance, that she is contented to remain where she is. The question is, would the right of Suffrage to the women of the country add to the stability of this government. Wherever woman has a vote, her influence will always be refining and elevating. In California and Oregon, for instance, when society there was rapidly tending towards

savagism, woman went out and order and decency were restored to life. Go into any place where a dozen men are sitting together; you know the conversation is not as high-toned as it is where high-toned and intelligent women are with them. And the same thing is true in regard to the conversation of women gathered together without the influence of men.

This has been thoroughly tried in our western colleges, and where boys and girls have been educated together it is the testimony of all the professors that the whole tone is very much elevated—much higher than in colleges where the sexes are educated apart. That will be the influence of women in the halls of legislation. Grand as are all your speeches, for I read many of them, I believe if you had two or three dozen intelligent, virtuous women sitting in your midst, that even your debates might have a higher tone than they do to-day. I know that would be the case in your courts, too. It will be so everywhere. That is the question before you. Would not the enfranchisement of the women of the country purify and exalt the general condition of the citizens and the legislators of the country?

I hardly think you can be satisfied with the present condition of things even in the District. If you will look over the past you will see step by step, as you advance in civilization, you have extended the right of suffrage to the people. Now that is the safe line on which to act in the future. There are but two lines, despotism and equality. We have proclaimed the one in our principles of government. We have declared that all men are free and equal, and so, in a more enlightened sense, women also. The work of this hour is to put our grand theory into practice.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY next addressed the Committee as follows:

We are here for the express purpose of urging you to present in your respective bodies, a bill to strike out the word "male" from the District of Columbia Suffrage act, and thereby enfranchise the women of the District. We ask that the experiment of Woman Suffrage shall be tried here, under the eye of Congress, as was that of negro suffrage. Indeed, the District has ever been made the experimental ground of every step freedomward. The auction-block was here first banished, slavery was here first abolished, the newly made freedmen were here first enfranchised; and we now ask that the women shall here be first admitted to the ballot. There was great fear and trepidation all over the country as to the results of negro suffrage, and you deemed it proper, right and safe to inaugurate the experiment here; and you all remember that three days discussion in the winter of 1867 on Senator Cowan's proposition to amend the Senate bill, by adding the word "male" to that of "white." The able speeches of Cowan, Anthony, Gratz Brown, Yates, Pomeroy of Kansas, and the Senate's only nine votes for the amendment.

Well do I remember with what anxious hope we watched the daily reports of that debate, and how we prayed that Congress might then declare for the establishment in this District of a real, practical republic. But conscience, or courage, or something was wanting, and women were bidden still to wait.

When, on that March day of 1867, the negroes of the District first voted, with what anxiety did the people wait, and with what joy did they read the glad tidings, flashed over the wires, throughout the land, the following morning!

And the success of that first election in this District, inspired Congress with confidence to pass the proposition for the Fifteenth Amendment, and the different states to ratify that amendment, until it has become a fixed fact that black men all over the nation may not only vote, but sit in legislative assemblies and constitutional conventions.

We now ask Congress to do the same for women. We ask you to enfranchise the women of the District this very winter, so that next March they may go to the ballot-box, and all the people of this nation shall see that it is possible for women to vote and the republic to stand.

There is no reason, no argument, nothing but prejudice, against our demand; and there is no way to break down this prejudice but to try the experiment. Therefore we most earnestly urge it, in sure faith that so soon as Congress and the people shall have witnessed its beneficial results, they will go forward and present and ratify a SIXTEENTH AMENDMENT that shall prohibit any state to disfranchise any of its citizens on account of sex.

We ask that you shall not have a single word in the District laws relative to sex any more than you have relative to color or race. We, women, are civilized human beings, and want to be treated as such in all the laws and constitutions.

You have by constitutional amendment, given the ballot unasked to the unwashed, uncombed, unlettered foreigners and colored men, and now, when we, your peers in intellect, wealth and virtue, ask the recognition of our equal rights, is it not unjust, nay, cruel, to demand that we shall wait until a majority of the ignorant masses of women shall be educated to ask for their rights?

Mrs. HOOKER said—The fifth commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother," could not be obeyed while boys are taught by our laws and constitutions to hold all women in contempt. She felt it was not only woman's right but duty to assume responsibility in the government. She thought the importance of the subject demanded its hearing.

Madam ANNEKE—You have lifted up the slave on this continent; listen now to women's cry for freedom.

Mrs. GAGE—Liberty is an instinct of the human heart, and men desirous of creating change in governments or religion have led other men by promising them greater liberty, more freedom, and better laws. Nothing is too good or too great for humanity—nothing is too sacred for humanity—and, as part of humanity, woman as well as man demands the best that governments have to offer. Woman demands the ballot equally with man. Honorable gentlemen have spoken of petitions. For twenty years we have petitioned, and I now hold in my hand over three thousand names of citizens from but a small portion of the state of New York asking that justice shall be done women by granting them suffrage. But people have become tired of begging for rights, and many persons favoring this cause will not again petition. We but ask justice, and we say to you that the stability of any government depends upon its doing justice to the most humble individual in it.

Mrs. DAVIS—We are tired of petitioning. It is time our legislators knew what was right and gave us justice.

Mrs. WILBOUR remarked that a lady of the district near her said she had obtained 1,500 signatures in one ward of the city to a petition.

Senator PATTERSON inquired what the effect would be in case women were allowed to vote where there was a difference of opinion between the husband and wife on some political question—where the authority of the family would rest?

Mrs. STANTON replied that there was one of superior will and brain in every family. If it was the man, he would rule; if it was the woman, she would rule. Individuality should be preserved in the family as well as in society.

Hon. Mr. WELKER wanted to know if the women in the District had shown any interest in the movement yet.

Mrs. STANTON replied that they had; they had attended the sessions of the Convention held here, and all she had spoken to were in favor of it.

Mrs. WILBOUR said the petition of fifteen hundred women of the District asking for suffrage had been presented to Congress this very winter.

Hon. Mr. COOKE said that the Committee on the District of Columbia could not get enough time allowed them by the House to transact the necessary business of the District during the short morning hour, to which they were limited by the rules, and he feared they would be unable to get the action of the House on the subject.

Miss ANTHONY said that they must make time enough to present the bill at least; and asked if women had the right to vote, and make and unmake members, if they could not then find time to plead woman's cause.

The honorable member was obliged to answer this pertinent question in the affirmative.

Senator HAMLIN said the committee would take the matter into consideration and discuss it; that in Scripture language he could say he was almost, if not quite, persuaded.

Thus passed one of the most important events of the age. Altogether the hearing was serious and impressive; and it was evident from the questions of the honorable gentlemen they had already given the subject a thoughtful consideration.

As each member of the Congressional Committee was presented by Senator Hamlin to the women's committee they had abundant opportunity for learning their individual opinions. It was evident the chairman was almost converted. Senator Sumner never appeared more genial, and said though he had been in Congress for twenty years, and through the exciting scenes of the Nebraska Act, Emancipation, District of Columbia Suffrage act, and Reconstruction, he had never seen a committee in which were present so many Senators and Representatives, so many spectators, so much interest evinced, and had never heard speeches of so much interest and power.

INDIANA RADICAL.—Its Prospectus for 1870 is very long but is correspondingly broad. Here is a specimen of its quality:

The *Radical* will advocate as a Natural, Inalienable right, Universal Suffrage, without qualification of Race, Sex, Creed, Education or condition, acknowledging no disqualification to persons of ordinary natural intelligence, but that of crime. It will stand by the rights and interests of the Laboring Classes as against the exactions of capital and the pretensions of Snobocracy.

J. H. Julian is Editor and Proprietor, and Richmond, Ind., the place of its publication.

MASSACHUSETTS organizes a State Woman Suffrage Association, to-morrow. So goes forward our work organizing the nation.

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.—The Cumberland Co., Maine, Conference of Congregational Ministers and Churches, after much discussion on woman's work in the church, conclude that she must not be silenced in the social meetings if she wishes to be heard. A still more remarkable sign in the ecclesiastical heavens is the revolution rapidly, though perhaps imperceptibly, working in theological doctrine. The divine justice has been thundered through all the skies by man for ages, out of all disproportion to the not less divine and ever abounding compassion and forbearance. Woman is yet to restore the balance, and Mrs. Stowe has already well begun so to do in her latest book in which she dares to say:

Nothing is plainer than that it would be wrong to give any mind to eternal sin till every possible thing had been done for its recovery; and that is so clearly not the case in this life, that I can see, that, with thoughtful minds, this belief would cut the very roots of religious faith in God; for there is a difference between facts that we do not understand, and facts which we do understand, and perceive to be wholly irreconcilable with a certain character professed by God. If God says he is love, and certain ways of explaining Scripture make him less loving and patient than man, then we make Scripture contradict itself.

NEW YORK REFORM CLUB.—It held its semi-monthly meeting at the *Universe Rooms*, corner of Broadway and 32d street, on Thursday evening of last week, Mr. G. W. Maddox, the President, in the chair. The orator of the evening was Mrs. Frances McKinley, and seldom has an audience been more effectively taken captive by the force of truth and eloquence than on that occasion. Very few, if any, present had ever heard Mrs. McKinley before, but all seemed delighted with the depth of her thought and the beauty and power of her expression. Her address certainly evinced a high degree of mental culture as well as (most important of all) a profound spiritual and experimental appreciation of her subject, *Woman as she is, and as she should be*. Seldom is any new speaker more heartily applauded and surely no one more worthily; and it only needs a patient, persevering, religious devotion to her work, to place Mrs. McKinley among the most brilliant public speakers her sex has yet produced.

MRS. STANTON'S ENGAGEMENTS.—Mrs. Stanton is to return to the West about the 20th of February—scarcely allowing herself time to visit her home, and to fulfil New England appointments. Her engagements already extend to the following places:

Fredonia,	N. Y.	Lafayette,	Ind.
Buffalo,	"	Janesville,	Wis.
Lockport,	"	Ripon,	"
Toronto,	Canada.	Peoria,	Ill.
Monticello,	Iowa.	Columbus,	Ohio.
Iowa City,	"	Toledo,	"
Minneapolis,	Minn.	Hudson,	Mich.
Decorah,	Iowa.	Crawfordsville,	Ind.
Wabash,	Ind.	Fort Wayne,	"
St. Joseph,	Mich.		

Persons wishing to communicate with Mrs. Stanton as to lectures in other places, will address Mr. C. S. Carter, Ann Arbor, Michigan, who will attend promptly to all applications.

THERE is a couple in New Hampshire, Mr. and Mrs. Archibald Ford, 74 years old, who have lived on the same farm forty-five years, and for the last eighteen years have not deemed it necessary to employ either servant or doctor. Like Abou Ben Adhem's,  
May their tribe increase!

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE AND JOHN  
STUART MILL.

THE following is extracted from a private letter to Miss Anthony :

I wish to ask if any of the two-edged pens of your REVOLUTION-ary body have yet cut up the review of Mr. Mill's book in the September number of *Blackwood's Magazine*? Living in the country—not only off the road, but in the Hudson river valley—I am three months behind time, so have just waded through the thirteen mortal (certainly not immortal) pages of this review, which might have been written half a century ago.

The writer seems not to have so much fault to find with Mr. Mill's views as with Mill and his mode of proceeding—he is guilty of various things, among them—that he believes himself right, and that those who differ from him are not right, etc.; but one can excuse at least six pages of the platitudes, for the naivete with which he asserts this :

The fair members of the American convention for changing everything are evidently in communication with him; this correspondence, and an implied more intimate personal acquaintance with a few gifted women, roused by circumstances, and possibly by his arguments and teaching, into discontent, suggest to him a state of feeling among women at large which has no foundation in fact.

Now what must one think of the candor or intelligence of a writer who can say, "No woman with any claim to be attended to has asserted this equality." Here is a wholesale extinguishment for you. Farther on in this solid article, charity prompts me to think that he is exercising the "playfulness" of which he makes such serious charge of Mill's "want of, and repugnance to, in others"—which causes him to say: "We will go so far as to suspect that the most masculine-minded woman is conscious of a strain in continuous intercourse with men of vigorous thought, from which it is pleasant to relax into the amiable trivialities at present allowed to her sex," etc. He does not say—but does he mean—that the ninety-nine one-hundredths of men, who are not of vigorous thought, are the amiable trivialities allowed the sex?

The writer pays his own sex a poor compliment when he says, "It must always remain a fact that woman's influence over man will always be most potent before she has attained to her fullest mental development," and that this fact "must limit her influence, or rather determine its nature." And much more on the same subject, which makes one feel thankful for not belonging to the stronger sex. Supposing his facts to be facts, the writer is very sarcastic, or intends to be. After speaking of man being a guide, protector, shield, a superior, etc., etc., to woman, he says, "Hitherto—such and such ideas have influenced mankind; it is no reason whatever that they should continue to do so." He says: "Now we are men and women. A new school of philosophy threatens us with a third estate." The only redeeming feature of the affair is the gentle tenderness with which Mr. Mill's course is attributed to his wife—saying that he advocates not a cause but a person—and that his arguments have a power over himself borrowed from a stronger influence than reason. My advice to the vexed and weary spirit of whoever reads this article is, to take up an old *Westminster Review* of October, 1848, and read two articles, one "The Property of Married Women," the other "The Suppressed Sex."

Thine affectionately,

S. H. H.

## WOMAN'S CAUSE IN NEWARK.

NEWARK, though a city generally conservative in its ideas, is waking up on the Woman question. Since the N. J. State Suffrage Convention was held here in December, great interest is shown in the movement, the public mind seeming open to conviction, and, on the whole, favorably inclined. Those who went to the meeting to ridicule, came away feeling that there was more virtue in the Reform than their prejudices had allowed them to appreciate. Expecting to hear tirade and burlesque, they were agreeably disappointed in finding nothing but the most practical and common sense views advanced. It should be mentioned as a sign of the times, that at a recent lecture of Wendell Phillips in Newark, after expressing his opinions on various subjects, the orator alluded to the Woman cause. "I train in that regiment," declared the lecturer, tersely, when the whole house "came down" in tumultuous applause, more hearty and prolonged than that given for any other sentiment advanced during the evening.

Meanwhile some of the women of Newark are demonstrating, in a quiet way, their capability to fill offices heretofore supposed to be the exclusive property of the other sex. Mrs. Morningstern recently held the position of presiding officer of the Newark Division of the Sons of Temperance, and is now a Past Worthy Patriarch in that order. It is said by members of the Division that the office of worthy Patriarch was never filled more acceptably than during Mrs. Morningstern's administration. The proposition to elect women to offices in the different Temperance Divisions throughout the state is agitated, and so far has been received with favor.

A woman has occupied the position of "Searcher" in the County Register's office for upwards of twelve years. She was placed there temporarily at first, but has discharged her duties in so satisfactory a manner, that she has not only been retained, but receives the same pay as the other "searchers," who are men and lawyers. In a railroad office at East Newark there is a woman ticket-agent, and it is thought by her employers that the position is as well filled as it could be by a man.

WOMAN AND THE BALLOT.—Judge Krum of Missouri has sent us a newspaper report of his able and excellent address before the Woman's Suffrage Association of Missouri at one of its recent meetings. A clearer elucidation of the whole subject and more effective sweeping away of objections, has not often been heard; and room for, at least, extracts from it, shall be found in these pages, if possible.

THE WASHINGTON CHRONICLE.—Its report of the proceedings of the Suffrage Convention last week, was as just and as full too as could reasonably have been expected. We have drawn mainly upon it for our own account, as given today in THE REVOLUTION. Other Washington papers, as well as in Philadelphia and New York, were also very liberal in their accounts.

OUR DUMB ANIMALS.—Such is the name of a little monthly paper published at 46 Washington street, Boston (one dollar a year), by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. No more need be said about its name or object. Of its importance in what it seeks, too much

could not be said. If there be a day of future, fine judgment, no sin of this age will bear a blacker character before that dread tribunal than that of cruelty to dumb, helpless and generally unresisting domesticated animals. The horse, that stately nobleman among them all, will have charges preferred on his behalf that will send many a monster in human shape to such perditions as there are provided, be they even brimstone and fire. And all that is humane and holy will cry amen to the verdict. For what heart has not bled a thousand times at wanton, devilish cruelties inflicted on him constantly by beings meaner than any brute animal the Creator ever made? For the dumb animals, as originally made, are not mean, but in their sphere, good—"very good," so pronounced by creative wisdom itself. But man, the noblest work of God, can pervert himself below four-footed beasts and creeping things; and whenever he cruelly beats a patient, hard-working, overloaded, and often lame, or chafed and galled horse, has done just that thing. All honor to the little paper, *Our Dumb Animals*! and to the Society in whose interest it is published.

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## LITERARY.

READING AND ELOCUTION. By Anna T. Randall. To be used independently, or in connection with any series of Readers.

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This book did not come to market too soon. It will not mar its excellence to suggest whether a larger proportion of prose selections would not be an improvement; and whether they might not be, at least some of them on woman as woman, by such writers as Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, now a thousand miles away on a lecturing tour, and so may be safely mentioned in this connection. Woman's genius and power are well displayed; could not, need not, be better. But her rights and responsibilities are in order to day, and should form an essential part of education. Mrs. Randall has, however, done the cause of Education an invaluable service, and her work cannot be too extensively circulated.

THE LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE. By Laura Carter Holloway, with fifteen steel engravings. New York: United States Publishing Company, 441 Broome street. Octavo, pp. 658. Prices: In extra English morocco, cloth, bevelled boards, \$3.75; in leather (library style) marble edges, \$4.25; in full gilt morocco, panelled sides, 7.00.

Honor to women! to them it is given  
To garden the earth with the roses of heaven.

—SCHILLER.

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THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE for Young People. New York: Hurd & Houghton. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton & Co. Worthy of all the praise it receives; and receiving as much as any of its kind in America, if not more.

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New York, Nov. 29, 1868.

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